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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 11, July 1984

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19 October 1984

## USSR REPORT

### KOMMUNIST

No. 11, July 1984

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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IMPROVING FURTHER PARTY LEADERSHIP OF THE KOMSOMOL, UPGRADING ITS ROLE IN  
COMMUNIST UPBRINGING OF YOUTH

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[CPSU Central Committee report]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee considered the question of further improving the party's leadership of the Komsomol and upgrading its role in the communist upbringing of youth. The decree notes that the Leninist Komsomol is worthily acting as the reliable party reserve and active assistant in the communist upbringing of rising generations and in the struggle for the triumph of the ideals of communism. The Komsomol, which rallies within its ranks 42 million young men and women, plays an important role in the political system of Soviet society. It actively participates in the development of the economy, science and culture, in the further development of socialist democracy and in strengthening the country's defense capability.

Komsomol members and young people are honorably continuing the work of the older generations. Answering the party's call, they enthusiastically undertake the solution of the country's most important problems. Through their daily efforts millions of young men and women are adding ever new pages to the chronicles of Komsomol glory. The Komsomol is making a substantial contribution to the building of the Baykal-Amur mainline, the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod main gas pipeline, the reorganization of the Russian Nonchernozem, the development of the virgin lands and the resources of Siberia, the Far East and Extreme North and the implementation of the Food and Energy programs.

Loyal to Lenin's behests, the CPSU proceeds from the fact that the party's leadership of the youth movement is the prime condition and most important guarantor for the revolutionary continuity of generations in the socialist society and a prerequisite for the moral fiber, militancy and creative activeness of the Komsomol. This principle is being steadfastly implemented. The content is enriched and the forms and methods of party leadership of the Komsomol are being perfected under the influence of the resolutions of the 26th Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. The party's influence on the youth is increasing through the party members working in the Komsomol organizations. State and public organizations and party, labor and war veterans are actively participating in work with young people.

Nevertheless, the tasks of perfecting developed socialism and the increased confrontation between the two global systems call for further improvements in the party's leadership of the Komsomol and in the entire area of raising the upcoming generation and energizing its participation in building socialism. We must also take into consideration the fact that cases of labor and social passiveness, individualism, lack of discipline and other negative manifestations exist among a certain percentage of young people.

The Komsomol Central Committee and the local Komsomol organs are slow in reorganizing the style and methods of their activities and are allowing substantial shortcomings in their work with Komsomol cadres. The Komsomol organizations do not always make efficient use of existing possibilities for influencing young people. They try to resolve new problems with worn-out and stereotyped ways and means. They are frequently unable to react to new youth enthusiasms and to channel to them properly.

The party organs frequently substitute excessive control and supervision for exacting trust in Komsomol organizations. In some cases they show a basic lack of attention to their activities and concerns. Many party committees have weakened their work with the Komsomol aktiv. They insufficiently sum up and apply positive experience in working with the Komsomol and the young people.

The CPSU Central Committee emphasized that further improvements in the upbringing of the rising generation should be considered a most important party, state and nationwide project. We must proceed from the fact that, in the final account, this is a matter of reliably guaranteeing the future of our homeland.

V. I. Lenin's historical behest to the young people, contained in his speech at the 3rd Komsomol Congress--learn communism--is becoming increasingly relevant under present-day conditions. It is the duty of the party organizations to teach communism to young men and women taking as an example the great Lenin's life and activities and the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the party and the people, to trust the young people entirely while at the same time being more demanding of them and enhancing their responsibility for the historical destinies of socialism.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics and the party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations have been asked to ensure the strict implementation of the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the instructions of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary, contained in his February and April 1984 Central Committee plenum speeches and the All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Komsomol Organizations on problems of intensifying the party's leadership of the Komsomol and upgrading its role in the education of young people. The main task of the Komsomol and the youth must be to become fully involved in the difficult and comprehensive work which the party defines as perfecting developed socialism and to raise the young people in a spirit of infinite loyalty to the cause of communism and as worthy citizens of Soviet society.

It is necessary persistently to develop in the young people a Marxist-Leninist outlook, class self-awareness and intolerance of bourgeois ideology and anything which conflicts with the idea of social justice. It is necessary to develop in the young people the organic need to master contemporary knowledge and to become actively involved in constructive activities, in resolving the key problems of economic and social development and in the administration of the state and society. The sole purpose of youth education, upbringing and training must be to raise the young people in a spirit of communist reality.

The party's leadership of the Komsomol, the CPSU Central Committee decree emphasizes, must be planned and systematic. It must ensure energetic and purposeful activities on all levels of the youth union. We must continually and profoundly study the social and ideological processes which are taking place in youth circles. We must systematically analyze them and help the Komsomol organizations in selecting the basic trends and the most effective forms of work.

Maximal convictions and comradely attention must be displayed in this connection; youthful initiatives must be supported and we must teach and urge on "not with instructions but with work" (Lenin). All of this must be considered a mandatory command for the style of the party's leadership of the youth organization.

Problems of the life and activities of Komsomol organizations must be considered on a regular basis. They must be helped in resolving the social problems of young people. Conditions must be created for the Komsomol to make full use of its extensive rights in the management of governmental and social affairs. All vital problems of youth training, labor, way of life and recreation must be mandatorily resolved with the direct participation of the Komsomol. Komsomol members and young people must be invited to attend party meetings. It must be considered expedient to elect to party committees and bureaus Komsomol organization secretaries and the true leaders of young people. The best pupils of the Komsomol, above all among workers and kolkhoz members, must be selected for party membership. The responsibility of Komsomol organizations in recommending Komsomol members for party membership must be enhanced.

Continuing concern must be shown for upgrading the role of the party nucleus in the activities of the youth union. We must remember that the work of the party member in the Komsomol is responsible party work which must be performed honorably. Every young party member must set an example of dedication in labor, ideological convictions and impeccable behavior.

The party committees must take steps to intensify the work of soviet, trade union and economic organs and public organizations with the youth and to improve the coordination of their actions. They must ensure the strict practical implementation of the party's requirements of maintaining steady contacts between party leaders and the youth and active participation of party members and all leading cadres in the communist upbringing of the rising generation. They must systematically visit places where young people work, study or rest. They must discuss with them sensitive problems frankly and intimately and give them exhausting answers.



The Komsomol Central Committee and republic, kray and oblast committees must increase the contribution of the Komsomol organizations to the implementation of the plans for economic and sociocultural construction. They must develop in every young person the awareness that in formulating the prospects for the country's development the party greatly relies on the skillful hands, daring thoughts and labor enthusiasm of today's youth. The young people must be persistently involved in the socialist competition. The movement of Komsomol-youth collectives must be developed and their prestige and role in the education of the adolescents must be enhanced. The efforts of the young people must be concentrated on the main trends of public production intensification, scientific and technical progress, comprehensive automation, development of electronics and nuclear power industry, the creation and application of essentially new types of materials, equipment and technologies and mastering economical management methods.

In this case, while paying attention to large-scale projects, it is very important for the Komsomol organizations not to set aside so-called "petty" daily and specific matters which, in the final account, lead to tangible results.

The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and economic managers must show permanent concern for providing young workers, kolkhoz members and specialists conditions for highly productive toil, for upgrading their professional skills and for proper recreation. Tutorship must be developed and improved. The young people must be raised in a spirit of love of work and intolerance of slackness, negligence, drunkenness and idleness. As V. I. Lenin pointed out, one can become a true communist only through conscious and disciplined toil together with workers and peasants.

The Komsomol Central Committee and ministries and departments have been asked to put a decisive end to their formal bureaucratic attitude toward shock Komsomol construction projects and the organization of their labor collectives. They must see to it that each Komsomol-youth construction project becomes a true school of civic development, labor and political training and true shock labor for all young men and women. Steps must be taken to improve the work of student construction detachments.

The decree stipulates that the CPSU Central Committee considers that the ideological-political and moral upbringing of young people must be regarded by party and Komsomol organizations as a matter of prime importance. Guided by the stipulations of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, this work must be carried out on a broad front in accordance with the specific characteristics of the various youth categories and their levels of education, information, interests and inclinations and cover all areas in which the character of the young individual is molded. The efficiency of Komsomol education efforts must be enhanced and closely related to the solution of specific problems of economic and cultural construction. The various forms of mass propaganda and agitation, political education and counterpropaganda work must obey the requirement of developing in the growing generation a profound Marxist-Leninist understanding of the laws of contemporary social development, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. Young men and women must be



raised in a spirit of friendship and unity with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and solidarity with the liberation struggle of the working people in capitalist and developing countries. Young people must become accustomed from childhood to respect the great history of the fatherland, the state seal, the anthem of the Soviet Union and the national flag. They must have absolute faith in the justice of socialist ideals. The atheistic upbringing of young people must be intensified and socialist ceremonies persistently promoted.

The young person in a developed socialist society must have lofty ideological and moral qualities, above all communist convictions, social activeness, industriousness, self-discipline, responsibility for the common cause, culture and a noble attitude toward the family, collective and society, respect for the laws and ability to surmount arising difficulties.

The Komsomol Central Committee, the soviet, trade union and economic organs and the public organizations must pay the closest possible attention to improving the organization of youth recreation. They must formulate and implement a system of steps for the extensive development of scientific and technical and artistic creativity, physical culture and sports, youth tourism and improved work with youth at home, in hostels in particular. It is important that in their leisure time young men and women do not engage in meaningless entertainment and that all forms of recreation contribute to their ideological enrichment, physical development and development of high cultural demands and aesthetic tastes and involvement with the best accomplishments of domestic and world culture. Indifference to politics, immorality and blind imitation of Western fashion must not be allowed to penetrate among young people under the cover of amateur groups. Every Komsomol organization and Komsomol member has the duty actively to struggle for strengthening public order and undertake this seriously, not limiting themselves to announcing the mounting of their latest campaign.

In close cooperation with the Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR Ministry of Culture, USSR Goskino, USSR State Committee for Publishing and USSR State Television and Radio Committee and the creative associations must promote the creation of highly artistic works of literature and art which would present profoundly and vividly the spiritual and ideological-moral strength of the Soviet person, praising work for the good of society and exploits in the name of the homeland. Masters of culture and talented representatives of the young creative intelligentsia must be extensively involved in this project. Movie and television films and musical and literary works for children and adolescents must meet particularly stringent requirements. All channels for the penetration of lack of ideas and triteness in literature and the arts must be blocked; the influence of bourgeois "mass culture" must be reliably stopped.

The editors of central and local newspapers and journals, the radio and television, TASS and APN must provide more varied youth topics and enhance the ideological content and professional standards of publications and broadcasts. Fuller coverage must be provided of the party's leadership of the Komsomol and work with young people and its nature as the leader of the Komsomol must be

presented more vividly. The Komsomol Central Committee and the party committees must take steps to improve the activities of the Komsomol press.

Party and Komsomol committees, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations in the Soviet army and navy and DOSAAF have been asked to intensify the military patriotic upbringing of young people and to develop in them the feeling of high responsibility for fulfilling their honorable duty of defending the socialist fatherland. We must display even greater persistence in developing in young people a feeling of love of homeland and hatred for its enemies, high political and class vigilance and constant readiness for achievement. In work with predraftees greater attention must be paid to their moral-political, military-technical and physical training. Lenin's instruction of "learning military affairs properly!" must become the pivot of the entire work of the army Komsomol. Preparations for the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War must be extensively used in military-patriotic work.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the party committees, the Komsomol Central Committee and the local Komsomol organs always to keep in sight problems of further enhancing the role of Komsomol organizations in the life of higher and secondary specialized schools and shaping within every university and secondary school student the need for profound study of Marxist-Leninist theory and party policy, mastery of his chosen field and readiness to work wherever the homeland may need him. Guided by the resolutions of the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, they must persistently and systematically work for the implementation of the school reform in all of its basic directions. The Komsomol must become the reliable support of educational staffs in enhancing the quality of training and education and the labor and vocational training of the students. Particular attention must be paid to the comprehensive development of initiative, independent activities and creative principles in the work of student Komsomol organizations. Sponsorship by production Komsomol organizations of schools, vocational-technical schools and Pioneer units must be strengthened. Guidance of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V. I. Lenin must be improved. Interesting and ideological and emotionally saturated Pioneer work must be carried out in all detachments. Firm foundations of an accurate life stance must be laid in Pioneers and Octobrists. Problems of work with the Pioneers must be considered by the party organizations.

The entire atmosphere of training and upbringing in the family, the secondary and higher schools, the labor collective and the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations must be imbued with a spirit of collectivism, moral fiber and intolerance of dependency, hoarding and indifference of anything conflicting with our morality and working way of life; it must actively contribute to shaping a comprehensively developed personality. The party and trade union organization must become more demanding of the parents in terms of the education of their children.

The CPSU Central Committee emphasized that the increased role of the Komsomol in communist construction requires the further organizational-political strengthening of the Komsomol and the strengthening of the militancy and independent nature of all its units, primary Komsomol organizations in

particular. Komsomol work must have a great social content and must be filled with everything with which our people live. It must inspire boys and girls with its romanticism, creative searches and useful accomplishments.

The Komsomol committees must base their work on improving the Komsomol style and ways and means of work. They must be steadily guided by Comrade K. U. Chernenko's instruction that the essence of this work lies, on the one hand, in upgrading the level of organization, order and discipline in Komsomol ranks and, on the other, in developing the initiative and activeness of Komsomol members. Formalism and excessive organization of the activities of Komsomol organizations and ostentatious campaigns aimed at creating superficial impressions must be decisively eliminated. The Komsomol workers must spend maximum amounts of time in youth collectives. They must be in touch with young people not only in the course of mass measures but in daily life. They must profoundly study their concerns and skillfully combine mass with individual forms of work among young men and women. They must concentrate their efforts on working directly within the primary organizations and Komsomol groups and enhancing the role of Komsomol meetings. Every Komsomol member must conscientiously fulfill social assignments and actively participate in the activities of his organization. Proper order must be brought in the registration of Komsomol members. The title of Komsomol member must be enhanced and a feeling of pride in and responsibility for belonging to the union of young Leninists must be promoted. The enrollment in the Komsomol of worthy representatives of working, rural, army and student youth must be based on a strictly individual approach; no accelerated increase in Komsomol ranks should be allowed. Joining the Komsomol must become a noteworthy and unforgettable event in the young person's life.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics, the party kraykoms and obkoms, the Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol committees must pay particular attention to work with Komsomol cadres, considering such work a key link in intensifying Komsomol activities. The CPSU Central Committee emphasized that everything here is of tremendous importance--ideological conviction and moral purity, organizational skills and ability extensively to react to specific youth problems, professional maturity and typical youth enthusiasms. All manifestations of careerism and indifference, uncritical attitude toward the work and all kinds of abuses must be decisively stopped.

Collective leadership and high principle-mindedness and exigency must be ensured in cadre selection and placement. Active Komsomol members among the workers, kolkhoz members and young specialists who have undergone the training of the labor collective and enjoy an authoritative reputation among young people must be more energetically recommended for membership in Komsomol organs. Young women must be more extensively involved in leading Komsomol work. A certain cadre stability must be achieved. Komsomol activists who have proven themselves in party, soviet and economic work must be promoted more boldly.

Steps must be taken to improve the structure of the apparatus of Komsomol organs, bearing in mind above all the strengthening of Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms, rural ones in particular. Great importance ascribes to the political



upbringing of Komsomol cadres. It has been deemed necessary to broaden the training in higher party schools and the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School.

The USSR Academy of Sciences, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, and the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School have been instructed to improve scientific work on topical problems of the communist upbringing of youth. Social scientists and party and Komsomol workers must become more extensively involved in such work.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses its confidence that the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and labor collectives will continue to nurture and educate the kind of youth who will worthily continue the building of the new society and be equal to the historical responsibility for the destinies of the country and the fate of socialism and peace and will be able not only to master the experience of the older generations but to enrich them with their own accomplishments.

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## THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL CLIMATE

AU161440 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 84 (signed to press 23 Jul 84)  
pp 10-19

[Editorial]

[Text] The socialist social climate is the social environment that surrounds us and in which the Soviet people live, work, participate in management of the state, rear their children, raise their ideological-political and cultural level and reveal their abilities and talents. This environment is shaped under the decisive influence of the achieved level of development of productive forces and production relations. At the same time, while directly depending on socialist progress, the social climate is a powerful factor in speeding up this progress.

It is precisely real socialism, built by the popular masses headed by the workers class and its Leninist party, that answers the vital interests, progressive aspirations and ideals of the working people and the lofty principles of social justice and humanism. The essence of socialism is precisely expressed by its noble motto: "Everything in the name of the individual, everything for the good of the individual!"

A most important outcome of the heroic struggle of many generations for the victory of socialism and its development is the indestructible sociopolitical and ideological unity of the Soviet people and their close cohesion around their native communist party. Thanks to the scientifically substantiated domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and its perspicacious and wise leadership, our people have accomplished gigantic changes of worldwide historic significance, transformed the face of their multinational fatherland, and raised its international prestige and influence to an unprecedented level. New and tangible results have been achieved in the struggle to fulfill the decisions of the 26th Party Congress which were developed and concretized by the May and November 1982, June and December 1983 and February and April 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums. This could not help but affect the socialist social climate.

At his meeting with workers from the Moscow Serp i Molot Metallurgical Plant, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said: "These days a



collective, creative search for solutions to longstanding problems, efficiency and exactingness are particularly characteristic of the sociopolitical atmosphere in which our people live and work. The beneficial changes taking place in all spheres of life are being given nationwide support.

"The decisions of the February and April Central Committee Plenums and of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation are aimed at strengthening and developing this atmosphere. They are oriented toward harmonious, intensive work in all aspects of communist construction."

Being concerned with maintaining a healthy atmosphere in the labor collective, rayon, city and oblast means consistently pursuing the policies of the CPSU and the directives of its Central Committee and strictly observing the principles that regulate the life of our society, the rules of socialist society, and the requirements of Soviet law. Being concerned that the social climate everywhere in our country should be favorable to a full human existence and to fruitful, socially useful activity means perfecting socialist production and other social relations and establishing values such as comradely cooperation, mutual aid, and a collectivist spirit inspiring optimism everywhere and in everything.

Objectively speaking--and it is important to emphasize this--we have everything to ensure that the socialist atmosphere is always and everywhere conducive to growth in the creative activeness of Soviet citizens, to their active participation in the labor process and in the management of social affairs, to improvement in creative work in all spheres of socialist and communist construction, and to a healthy attitude in every individual. Nevertheless, cases at variance with the rules of socialist society are not so infrequent. The main cause of this lies in deviations from the norms generally accepted in our country and in failure to fully observe, or even directly violate, the principles of socialism. As it was noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the causes of many "defects" should not only be sought in "vestiges of the past" in people's awareness and conduct, but also in current practice, in the errors of certain workers, in the real problems and difficulties of our development, and in the shortcomings of educational activities.

The most outstanding achievement of the Soviet people is collectivism, which has been established in all spheres of life and consolidated by the Constitution. Being a basic component of such a multifaceted concept as social climate, collectivism includes production, sociopolitical and moral relations. It is opposed to individualism which is still inherent in the awareness and conduct of certain citizens and even of some officials.

The whole spectrum of mutual relations between people, and also of relations between the individual and society and the state, is reflected in the labor collective. It is a fundamental social cell of the socialist social system, and social relations develop and are perfected within it. However, as practice shows, the situation in different concrete collectives does not take shape in the same way. In the absolute majority of collectives the situation is both principled and businesslike. But there are also collectives in which the situation suffers from serious defects, is not conducive to a smooth

working rhythm or to the achievement of planned production results, and spoils the attitude of conscientious workers.

Improving the situation in these collectives, establishing the proper order in production and ensuring the correct organization of labor and its remuneration and stimulation, that is, establishing truly socialist relations between workers--relations which require a clear understanding by every individual of his place in the common cause and his precise fulfillment of the work he is entrusted with--is precisely the prime task of the party organizations, and the economic leaders above all else. Implementation of the USSR Law on Labor Collectives is also called upon to assist this. This law is aimed at ensuring that in all enterprises and in all organizations and institutions, the conditions exist under which the Soviet individual can more fully show himself to be an aware master of his country and an active builder of communism.

The labor collectives are obliged to cultivate a careful and responsible attitude in their members with respect to national property. It mainly depends upon the collectives as to whether this kind of attitude becomes the norm for every worker irrespective of the sector in which he is employed. Preserving and increasing socialist property is a reliable way of increasing the economic potential and might of our state and further improving the people's standard of living and the personal well-being of every worker. At the same time, concern for common property is also a factor in increasing the creative activeness of the masses, augmenting their creative energy, and intensifying their interest in the results of collective work.

Any attempts to appropriate state property should be decisively suppressed. By causing material, and sometimes considerable, damage to the enterprises, "pilferers" basically undermine the economic foundations of socialist society. Comprehension of the fact that the socialist social property, as well as national, state and cooperative-kolkhoz property, is sacred and inviolable and must be persistently instilled, developed and strengthened in each and every individual.

It is hardly necessary to demonstrate that the collective cannot and must not allow plunderers of national property within its ranks. It also cannot adopt an indifferent attitude toward those who, although not personally involved in the embezzlement and squandering of state property, turn a blind eye to these criminal acts and do not struggle to preserve socialist property. The fact that any deviations from socialist standards of conduct affect production results, cause moral damage and have a pernicious effect upon insufficiently stable people cannot be ignored.

The interests of the labor collective require all of its members not only to take trouble over personal successes but also the successes of work comrades. Hence it is clear how necessary it is that every able-bodied individual should be engaged in generally useful work, have a responsible attitude toward the matter at hand and irreproachably fulfill his obligations.

Our party has set the serious task of strengthening discipline: state, plan and labor. The question is one of conscious discipline without which there

can be no production success, no high-quality work and no impressive final results.

The measures implemented after the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum to strengthen work discipline resulted in a noticeable improvement in establishing order and in a reduction in cases of laxity, absenteeism, and tardiness at work. This played a fundamental role in the fact that since the beginning of 1983, considerable success has been achieved in the struggle to utilize more efficiently economic and scientific-technical potential. The rates of economic development have risen, quality indexes improved somewhat, the production of industrial and agricultural products has increased, and the real income of the population has also increased. the

Although a considerable amount has been achieved, it would be wrong to be satisfied with this alone. The CPSU Central Committee emphasizes that striving to reach the proper level of socialist labor discipline is not a short-term campaign but requires daily, systematic work in which all the working people must directly participate as well as the administration and the leading organ of social organizations. It was pointed out at the December 1983 and February 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums that it is very important to maintain the present rate of progress and the general disposition to fulfill tasks practically, to develop positive trends more actively and to give these trends a stable nature.

The point of the party's effort to increase organization and discipline is not only to get rid of certain shortcomings and difficulties, but also to further strengthen the foundations the socialist system is based upon.

The prime obligation and patriotic duty of the labor collectives is to fulfill their plan's tasks and contractual obligations on time and in a precise manner. It is no secret that plan targets--quantitative and qualitative--are not fulfilled at a number of enterprises usually because of shortcomings in production organization and failures in material-technical supply, and also because of departmental barriers and parochialism and the incompetence of individual officials. There are also cases of cheating with figures, exaggerating accounts, and other contrivances. It really goes without saying that these kinds of acts harm the cause of maintaining and improving the socialist social climate. The collectives must call to order those who allow this kind of thing to happen by increasing exactingness and using various forms and methods of control for this purpose.

The initiatives which have arisen in the very midst of the masses and which have been caught up throughout the country are imbued with a striving for new success: "Efficiency and Quality for the Five-Year Plan--A Worker's Guarantee," "From High-Quality Work by the Individual to Highly Efficient Work by the Collective," "Work Without Lags," "Honor and Glory in Work," and others.

Now Moscow workers have come up with another patriotic initiative--to develop socialist competition under the motto "For the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War--40 shock work weeks." The movement for economy and thrift and improved utilization of production



capacities, raw materials, energy and work time is expanding. The labor collectives have interpreted the appeal of the December Central Committee Plenum to increase labor productivity by 1 percent over and above the plan and to reduce prime production costs in addition by one-half of a percent as a responsible party task.

In order to fulfill these obligations, progressive labor methods are being introduced, management is being perfected, and the organization, technology and psychology of economic operations are changing for the better. An atmosphere is being created in the collectives that obliges each and every individual to work still more fruitfully and to reveal more fully his potentials and abilities. A creative, enterprising and interested attitude towards matters shown by the broad masses of the working people and not just by individuals is the only reliable highway that will lead us to the victory of communist labor.

It would be no exaggeration to say that there is a direct link and a mutual dependence between the situation in the labor collective and the organization of socialist competition within it. If the attention and efforts of those participating in competition are aimed at fulfilling the most important tasks facing the enterprise and at achieving high final, and particularly qualitative, results and if this competition is an example of true emulation and meets the requirements of socialist production relations, the essence of which is comradely cooperation, support for innovators, the taking in hand of laggards, and the arming of workers with advanced experience, then it is clear that competition does not only reflect a favorable situation as a whole, but is also conducive to further improving this situation. As is well-known, one of the precepts of participants in the movement for a communist work attitude is precisely concern not only for one's own successes but also for the affairs of the brigade, the sector, the workshop, and the whole plant. Following the motto "Learn to work and live in the communist way," the labor collectives--the participants in the movement--are increasing people's activeness and intensifying responsibility for the state of the common cause and for the achievement of increasingly impressive production results.

The brigade form of labor organization, remuneration and stimulation is an important factor in maintaining and developing a healthy social climate and in increasing the initiative of the working people and their organization and awareness. The new type of brigades are an example of properly combining the interests of the individual worker, the collective and society as a whole. Production indexes are also higher within the brigades and, as a rule, mutual relations between people are more friendly, principled and businesslike. Here every individual strives accurately and punctually to fulfill every task set and to make the proper contribution to the general cause, and he is aware of his responsibility to the collective and for the collective.

The experience of workers in Voronezh Oblast is interesting--they have adopted a "code of labor honor." This code reflects the principles of socially useful activities and of the workers' personal lives and conduct and the criteria for appraising their work, the results of socialist competition and the education of the young generation, and it also stipulates measures for putting pressure on those in breach of discipline. The main demand made of members of the

collectives that have adopted this code is that they live in accordance with the laws of a worker's conscience and a worker's honor. What can be more valuable, responsible, or honorable than this willingly undertaken obligation!

The degree of consistency with which the main principle of socialism--"From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work"--is implemented directly influences the situation in any labor cell. The party and its Central Committee emphasize the necessity to perfect the system of material and moral incentive so that those who are the best workers and who make the largest personal contribution to the development of production receive the greatest reward from society and are surrounded by honor and attention. As is well-known, there are still collectives in which this principle is violated and where unscrupulous people take more than they give to society. And at some enterprises the bonus fund is divided equally among all workers irrespective of their individual contribution. Surely these kinds of distortions of the principle of remuneration according to work encourage idlers and scroungers and hurt the interests of honest workers? And surely this engenders negative phenomena in the social environment?

Control over the measure of work and consumption needs to be intensified and conscientious work should be encouraged everywhere and given public recognition, while idlers, drifters, absentees, bad workmen, and other parasites who call themselves workers should have no allowances made for them. "At the very foundation of the Soviet system," notes Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "there lies social justice. This is its strong point. That is why it is so important for this justice to be strictly observed in everyday matters, whether it be wages and bonuses we are talking about, or the distribution of apartments or passes, or rewards--in a word, everything should be done in accordance with justice and according to every individual's working contribution to our common cause."

Ensuring fair appraisals of the individual's working contribution and his corresponding remuneration in every sector of the national economy means fulfilling an important socioeconomic and political-educational task. This is helped by perfecting the wage system and the whole system of material incentive, in which both the appropriate state organs and the labor collectives should engage more effectively. The experience of the brigades, in which wages are calculated according to the coefficient of work participation, deserves to be heeded and widely practiced.

There is no doubt that every ruble must be paid for with honest, conscientious work. But society is also not indifferent to the question of on what and through which channels wages are spent. A phenomenon such as drunkenness is a great social evil. A struggle must be waged against this vice not only for the sake of the well-being of families that suffer from the sallies of individual drunkards, and not only for the sake of curing these drunkards, this needs to be done in the interests of society and for the valuable human happiness of present and future generations.

Wastefulness and money-grubbing are equally alien to our way of life. A particularly serious problem arises when individuals accumulate considerable means which, as a rule, have been gained illegally. Personal property



acquired through one's own work is natural in a society of developed socialism. It is a compulsory condition of well-being. But personal property must not be set off against public property. Otherwise it loses its socialist nature and acquires the features of private ownership. That is why it is so important to close all loopholes through which unearned income is derived and that which has been earned by others is appropriated. All this is scandalously at variance with the very essence of socialism--the society of working people and for working people.

The moral-psychological climate, which includes both the mutual relations between the rank-and-file workers and between the leaders and the led, has great significance in the life of any collective, large or small, and working under normal or extreme conditions. For us, the Soviet people, the communist party's constant concern for the people's well-being is normal.

We are also accustomed to the fact that every possibility available to the state and society is used for the sake of the individual's health and the saving of his life. For example, a special plane is sometimes sent to the other end of the country to collect a patient in need of an emergency operation. Expeditions and volunteer detachments are fitted out to help someone in distress. And such cases are not infrequent.

Manifestations of indifference and callousness, superciliousness, rudeness, conceit and pretentiousness, which are still encountered, appear all the more monstrous against such a background. A relentless struggle is being waged, and must be waged even more resolutely, against these kinds of inhumane actions which are at variance with the socialist system.

Everything is essential in the life of society: the organization of work and rest, the provision of housing and places in children's preschool institutions, and the work of canteens, transport, shops, studios and workshops. It is difficult to overestimate the effect of these problems being properly resolved upon the mood of the working people. And this means that efficient work in the trade and public food service enterprises, medical institutions, and services sphere needs to be organized everywhere. Positive results will not be long in coming. What is more, material expenditure on social-domestic needs will be repaid a hundredfold.

A leader has a great role in ensuring a favorable moral-psychological climate in the collective. He is responsible both for work organization and for the political, labor and moral education of the workers. His successes and the situation within the collective depend to a considerable extent upon his adherence to principle, his firmness, initiative, exactingness and sincere desire to do the maximum possible for the collective. It is natural that the party should judge the level of work of a particular leader, not only by how fully and punctually plan tasks and contractual obligations are fulfilled, but also by real efforts aimed at improving people's working, living and leisure conditions. However, there are still good-for-nothing leaders who are frequently rude to their subordinates, take vengeance for criticism, surround themselves with flatterers, and create an atmosphere of subservience around themselves.

The Soviet way of life and the establishment of truly socialist relations between people in all sectors of society are in many ways also the product of our genuinely national political system. And at the stage of mature socialism, the basic principle of this system's organization is still democratic centralism, which primarily presupposes unity of rights and responsibilities, broad democracy in the discussion of problems, conscious discipline and unity of actions in the fulfillment of adopted decisions and plan tasks.

In our country, democracy is primarily given expression in the activities of the soviets which combine legislation, management and control. The soviets, which unite 2.3 million people's deputies and 31 million public activists, now exert an increasing influence upon virtually all aspects of political, socioeconomic and cultural life. The soviets, Lenin instructed, must draw all citizens into the practice of "directly and daily bearing their share of the burden of managing the state" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 74). The nature of the soviets' activities and the complexity and diversity of the tasks they fulfill require an even greater mass involvement of the public in their work and reliance upon its experience, knowledge, and help. This is also a condition of the comprehensive development of socialist democracy and of the creation of a truly socialist social atmosphere in any environment.

The elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, held on 4 March, once again convincingly demonstrated the full and morally healthy life of our people. At the same time, the party sets the organs of democracy new, more responsible tasks.

Their prime task is constantly to perfect the substance and style of their activities everywhere. The CPSU makes a contrast between the development of creative thinking and initiative and direct participation by the working people and various strata of the population in all valuable undertakings, and excessive "organization," formalism, and population in all valuable undertakings, and excessive "organization," formalism and other bureaucratic manifestations. The soviets are called upon to make more extensive use of their rights and powers, to implement their control functions more effectively, and to show real exactingness toward the organizations accountable to them and toward officials--concisely, to play a more active role as genuine organs of socialist social self-government.

The April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, speeches and statements by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation at which he was unanimously elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, gave a powerful creative impulse to the immense potential of the soviets being more fully achieved, to their activities being given rich and concrete substance to their role in the implementation of the communist party's socioeconomic policies being augmented, and to public statehood and socialist democracy being perfected.

The trade unions are an important link in our political system. Being a "school of management and a school of communism" they exert a growing influence upon the improvement of labor organization, the maintenance and

development of a healthy social climate in the collectives, and the ideological-political and work education of the Soviet people. The significance of other social organizations of the working people is also increasing under the conditions of perfecting developed socialism.

In his speech at the All-Army Conference of Secretaries of the Komsomol Organizations, Comrade K. U. Chernenko once again emphasized how highly the party values the role of the Leninist Komsomol in the development of our society, its weighty contribution to building extensive transport arteries, transforming the Russian Nonchernozem Zone and developing the wealth of Siberia, the Far East and the Far North and its daily selfless labor. The Komsomol now has unprecedented means at its disposal for tempering young people from both an ideological-political and a moral standpoint. The CPSU Central Committee's Resolution "On Further Improving Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Enhancing Its Role in the Communist Education of Young People" is imbued with the party's paternal concern for the younger generation. This program document regards perfecting work with young people as a most important party, state and general cause and as a problem of reliably safeguarding the future of our motherland. The party's attention commits the Komsomol to a great deal. The Komsomol organizations are called upon to react quickly to problems that trouble young men and women and to conduct lively work with young people without substituting it with lecturing, sham efficiency and fuss. The main task of the Komsomol today is to educate young people in the spirit of selfless devotion to communist ideals and as worthy citizens of Soviet society.

The organs of people's control have increased their participation in eradicating various violations. Now their powers are being extended to all state institutions or organizations. The leaders of the collectives should pay greater attention to the results of checks carried out by these organs, to their conclusions and to the signals of the people's controllers, and they should also draw the appropriate conclusions from their observations and implement their proposals.

While on the subject of the importance of a healthy social climate, it is impossible not to note the role of meetings held in homes, gatherings of rural inhabitants; house, street and block committees; councils of cultural-educational institutions and societies; comrades' courts; and bases for maintaining the public order. Members of the voluntary people's militia do useful work in helping the militia to maintain law and order and to eliminate whatever prevents people from working and living peacefully.

Life advances the task of making more effective use of legal means against those who act in breach of Soviet legislation that expresses the will of the people. Our system's principles of justice require criminal acts inevitably to be followed by punishment. Tolerance of illegal acts and indifference to law-breakers must also arouse severe public censure. Every Soviet citizen can take only one stand on this matter--he must oppose criminal elements that encroach on the people's property, and on the rights and dignity, honor and security of the individual. An atmosphere of intolerance toward violations of law and order and legality, whoever the violator may be, must be created in every collective, in every rayon and city and in every cell of society.



Civic rights and responsibilities, and the requirements of discipline and moral standards are the same for everyone in the USSR irrespective of social origin, position in society, or occupation. No one is permitted to ignore the rules of socialist society and Soviet laws. These are fair laws and must be strictly observed. Our legal standards and our legislation are aimed at protecting the interests of the Soviet people and at developing their working and social activeness.

Lenin pointed out that the socialist state is strong by virtue of the awareness of the masses. "The state is strong," said Vladimir Il'ich, "when the masses know everything, can form an opinion about anything, and go about everything consciously" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 35, p 21). The higher the level of the masses' social development and awareness, the more fully their creative role and the potentials of each individual are manifested.

The absolute majority of Soviet people have a responsible attitude toward public affairs, take an active civic position, and devote their knowledge and strength to pursuing the policies of the Leninist party for the good of the motherland. This is a most important factor in society's internal cohesion, its progress and our invincibility. At the same time, it is of decisive significance in educating the individual and in forming a person capable of fulfilling the historic tasks incumbent upon him. That is why the party purposefully strives to see that the individual in our country is shaped, not simply to be the bearer of a certain sum of knowledge, but primarily to be an active builder of communism with clear ideological and moral aims and with a lofty awareness of his social duty.

Educating the citizen means primarily forming a Marxist-Leninist world outlook in him. This world outlook makes people fighters for communist ideals and for the establishment and observance of the principles of socialism, people prepared to hold well-substantiated arguments with any ideological opponent, which is particularly important in the present conditions of antagonism, unprecedented throughout the whole postwar period in its intensity and acuteness, between two diametrically opposed world outlooks--bourgeois and socialist. The strength of the Soviet individual lies in his consciously serving the great cause of liberating labor from the oppression of capital and in the fact that his spiritual self is determined by the revolutionary ideology and morals of the workers class and by its collectivist psychology, interests, and opinions. While confirming these values of the new civilization in every possible way, the CPSU shows particular concern for the younger generation, concern that it should assimilate progressive communist ideology and morality.

The family and the school play a decisive role in forming the individual, as they lay the political, ideological and moral foundation of the personality. Parental responsibility for the conduct and moral aspect of their children has general civic significance, and consequently, the demands made upon parents, particularly communist parents, concerning their children's upbringing must be of the strictest nature.

The role of young people's teachers and mentors is also extremely important. The climate of the microenvironment in which juveniles not only accumulate knowledge but also pass through the school of civic spirit and learn the art of living depends upon them. This means that the social climate of the future is already being created today in the classroom, in courses concerning the fundamentals of science and labor, at home, in the family, in the Pioneer camp and among other people the same age.

There is no doubt that the best means of educating young people is to combine teaching with productive work. Consistently and persistently instilling in students the habit of and love for work, physical and mental, but definitely work that is real and necessary to society, is a matter of paramount state importance. In this respect, great hopes are being placed on the present reform of general education and vocational schools, which are called upon to create the conditions in which young men and women can embark upon independent life as educated, politically active and ideologically and morally mature people who are prepared to work and struggle.

No less a responsible task is fulfilled in the process of the military-patriotic education of juveniles. The simple and indisputable truth that training to defend the motherland is the sacred duty of every citizen and his patriotic duty must be instilled in the consciousness of every young person. Soviet patriotism is indivisible from socialist internationalism. Internationalist education presupposes active participation in strengthening friendship and cooperation between the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, class solidarity with peoples struggling for national and social liberation, and readiness to defend revolutionary achievements against any encroachments.

"While preparing to mark an important anniversary--the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War," Comrade K. U. Chernenko points out, "work in the field of military-patriotic education must be more extensively developed. A feeling of love for the motherland and hatred of its enemies must be more persistently cultivated in young people, as well as high political and class vigilance and constant readiness for heroic deeds."

One of the most important duties of parents, the family, the school and our society is to cultivate reasonable needs in young people. Only man's spiritual wealth is limitless. The struggle against spiritlessness, selfishness, philistinism and petty bourgeois consumerism, and against any attempts to drag views and morals alien to socialism into our environment--this is a field of practical activity in which all agencies and organizations and the whole of society must expend constant efforts.

The party relies upon veterans of the revolution and of wars and labor in its work to educate the younger generation. Their permanent service to the party and the country also lies in the fact that they ensure continuity in the cause of communist creation by training the younger generation.



The individual, and particularly the young individual, needs an example to emulate. We have millions of such heroes in our country. Works of literature and art must also henceforth be created around these heroes and they must intelligibly and convincingly, clearly and emotionally reveal the nobility of their vital aims, their ideological conviction, courage and industry, honesty and veracity, simplicity and modesty.

Experience confirms that only unity of political, labor and moral education and unity of word and deed in educational work can ensure that young people are prepared for embarking upon independent life, that they correctly understand contemporary reality, and that they highly value the aims of struggle, the achievements of the older generations of revolutionaries and builders of the new society and the historic achievements of the Soviet people.

"For Soviet society to be able to move forward confidently toward our great aims," says Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "every new generation must rise to an even higher level of education and general culture, professional qualification and civic activeness. Such, one can say, is the law of social progress."

Forming the new man is not only an aim, but also an indispensable condition for successfully building communism. We all have the objective prerequisites for every Soviet citizen to be able to relate to his work and his conduct within society with an understanding of his responsibility for the country's development. But these prerequisites can "operate" only if the subjective factor operates even more actively, strongly and broadly.

As in everything, the deciding role is played in this sphere by the party and its organizations and primarily the primary party organizations. The more boldly and concretely communists act in the interests of resolving the vital problems of the life of society, the more successfully the strategic task advanced by the CPSU--to perfect comprehensively perfect developed socialism--will be fulfilled.

The cohesion of the Soviet people around the Leninist party, which was once again demonstrated by the February and April 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums and by the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the people's unanimous support for the party's domestic and foreign policies are a reliable guarantee of our strength. In this lies the guarantee of further successes and new achievements. In this lies the indispensable condition for maintaining and strengthening the socialist social climate both as a result and a prerequisite of comprehensive social progress.

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## BUILDING AN ATMOSPHERE OF TRUST IN THE WORLD

AU101001 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 84 (signed to press 23 Jul 84)  
pp 20-22

[Article by K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; preface to book of K. U. Chernenko's speeches and articles published in Great Britain by Pergamon Press]

[Text] Pergamon Press' proposal to publish a collection of my speeches and articles testifies, in my opinion, to interest in the Soviet Union, in the life of its peoples and their problems and aspirations, and in our domestic and foreign policy. I wish to thank the publishers for their attention. I am also pleased to take the opportunity given me to address British readers directly.

First of all I would like to express the hope that the proposed book will help to better acquaint the reader with the life of our country, with its achievements, concerns, and aspirations, and with its plans for economic and social development. The better we know one another, the greater the possibility of finding a common language in our approach to international problems and to the broadening of bilateral cooperation. This has been proved by historical experience, and it is particularly important now when the international situation has been seriously complicated. And if Great Britain has recently shown greater inclination for dialogue between our states and for overcoming the present stagnation in these relations, then obviously this answers both the needs of the time and the needs of our peoples.

The Soviet Union, I must remind you, came into being as a state of social equality and justice, as a state of peace and cooperation between peoples. Such are the two main features which also characterize our country today. Fulfilling the vast and complex tasks of building a new society, the motto of which is "Everything in the name of the individual, everything for the good of the individual," is the meaning and the substance of the whole of our life and our policies. This aim can be fulfilled only in the conditions of peace and security. Consequently, from the very beginning, the Soviet Union has proclaimed the achievement of lasting peace and real disarmament as the general direction of its international policy. Peace can be ensured only if states from opposing social systems and holding opposing ideological views

firmly adhere to the policy of peaceful coexistence. And we steadfastly walk this path.

At the beginning of February this year our countries celebrated the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations. Great Britain was one of the first major European states whose government realistically estimated the benefits to its own national interests that normal relations with the land of the soviets would bring. On the same day, when a note was sent to Moscow with notification of Britain's de jure recognition of the Soviet state, the 2nd USSR Congress of Soviets adopted a resolution which emphasized that the aforementioned act had been implemented "in a form worthy of the great peoples of both countries and one which lays the foundation for their friendly cooperation."

There have been many different pages in the history of our mutual relations. However, it can be confidently said that there are no contradictions between the peoples of our countries which would prevent them from living in a neighborly fashion or from cooperating to their mutual advantage. I can say with complete conviction that there is no lack, just as there has been no lack in the past, of good will in the Soviet people to develop normal, equal relations with Great Britain. I would like to recall what was a major historic landmark in contemporary history--the combat alliance of our peoples in the struggle against the common enemy, the struggle to rid Europe of fascism. Is this not the best proof of our ability to unite our efforts in the face of a common danger? At that time this was not prevented either by differences in historical fates, or by differences in socioeconomic structures, ideological views, and the vital traditions of our peoples.

Now a formidable danger is once again looming over Europe and over the whole world. Whatever our attitude toward one another, whatever divides us, we must be guided by a common and principal interest--to do everything to prevent a catastrophe and to preserve civilization on earth. In order to do this the arms race must be stopped, East-West relations must be normalized, and we must refuse to be the first to use both nuclear and conventional weapons. We, for our part, have made such a pledge. We must refuse to use military force in general for the purpose of resolving problems which arise.

Our striving to build relations between states with different social systems on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence was clearly and definitely confirmed at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. We are openly in favor of mutually advantageous cooperation with states on all continents. We are in favor of peacefully resolving all disputed international problems by means of serious, constructive negotiations conducted on an equal footing. The British, like all people on earth, can be sure that the USSR will honestly and constructively cooperate with all states which are prepared to help lessen international tension through practical actions and to build an atmosphere of trust in the world.

For this I would like to repeat once again: We must have a better knowledge and understanding of one another. Unfortunately, unobjective information about the Soviet Union frequently appears in England, as it does in other Western countries, and various kinds of stereotypes such as the "Soviet threat

to the West," for example, or "the crisis of the socialist system" and "the violation of human rights" are current. Of course, all this is the misfortune rather than the fault of those English people who are inclined to believe misinformers in preference to the information about life in the Soviet Union and its domestic and foreign policy given by our country. Of course, the complexities of international life in recent years draw off a considerable amount of strengths and resources, but even under these conditions we do not entertain the thought of curtailing our social programs. And this is precisely because the ultimate aim of all of our work is to improve the life of the Soviet people. We strive not only to improve the material well-being of the Soviet people, but also to improve their physical health and spiritual development.

You know that the economic life of our country develops according to five-year plans. During the last 5 years four-fifths of the national income has been channeled into the people's well-being. The real income of the Soviet people has increased and the public consumer funds which go toward education, public health care, pensions, housing maintenance, and so forth have grown. During 1983 alone, more than 2 million apartments were built--more than in any of the preceding years.

Achieving these results, as you understand, is impossible without a developed economy, without an impressive scientific-technical potential and without sufficient raw material resources. We have all this. Our country's productive forces are growing stronger and are being renewed. I will cite just a few indexes for the last 5 years in confirmation of this. More than 1,000 industrial enterprises equipped with contemporary equipment have been put into operation. The fuel and energy base is successfully developing. During this time 40,000 km of gas mains have been built. I will note that such scales and rates of progress are new to world practice. If one takes agriculture, the power available to labor has increased by 30 percent during the five-year plan; this is a most important factor in further developing the whole of agricultural production.

Today the USSR's national economy is developing in the direction of intensifying the economy, increasing its efficiency, renewing all branches on the basis of speeding up the introduction of contemporary achievements in science and technology and perfecting the management mechanism. For these purposes we are considerably broadening the opportunities for our citizens to participate in management of the state and society--the role of the labor collectives is growing. We are sure that all this will ultimately raise our society's productive forces to a qualitatively new level. This society, from a historical point of view, is still young and growing. Everything still lies ahead.

Much has been done in the Soviet country during its short period of peaceful construction which has been interrupted by wars forced upon our people. One of these wars--with fascist Germany--took 20 million lives, a third of our national wealth. We have not revived our country just so that it can survive another war, especially not a nuclear war that hardly anyone would survive. We believe in the Soviet Union that catastrophes can be avoided. And we will do everything to prevent a catastrophe.



In conclusion I would like to wish the readers of this book and all the British happiness, prosperity and a peaceful future.

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## AN EFFECTIVE MEANS OF EDUCATING THE SOVIET PEOPLE

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[Article based on speech at All-Union Conference of Cinematography Workers, 18 May 1984, by G. Aliyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, first deputy chairman, USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] All social and political life in our country is developing under the shaping influence of the decisions of the February and April 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums, the First Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation and the postulates and conclusions contained in the speeches of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Comrade K. U. Chernenko. They have enriched the Leninist course of our party as mapped out by the 26th CPSU Congress and reinforced by subsequent Central Committee plenums, and they have given a powerful impulse to the multifaceted creative efforts of the people, the main thrust of which is to perfect developed socialism.

Life shows convincingly that it is impossible to deal with the great and complicated tasks arising here without constantly perfecting Soviet man himself--the active, dedicated builder of the new society. Directed toward the accomplishment of this vital goal is the elaborated program of ideological activity of long-term significance, as set forth at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in the speeches and articles of Comrade K. U. Chernenko. It was emphasized at the plenum that, for all the vital importance of economic and organizational matters, the party's ideological work is more and more coming to the forefront. The year that has passed since the June Plenum convincingly attests that the practical implementation of its directives is having a beneficial influence on the social-political and spiritual-moral atmosphere in the country.

A paramount rule in the shaping of the new man is assigned to the culture of a society of developed socialism. "To form and exalt man's spiritual needs, to actively influence the ideological-political and moral outlook of the individual..."--thus capaciously and at the same time with exhaustive fullness Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko formulated the vital mission of socialist culture in his report at the June Plenum. Our party and the CPSU Central Committee, moreover, proceed on the basis that under developed socialism literature and art are acquiring ever greater significance in the spiritual

life of the Soviet people. We cannot conceive of the formation of an all-round, harmoniously developed individual unless the broad masses become increasingly involved with artistic values. And this entails a growing civic and social responsibility on the part of the artist for the content, ideological thrust and educational influence of his works.

Through their creative efforts, the figures of Soviet literature and art are actively helping their party to educate the working people in the spirit of the high ideals of communism, to enrich them ideologically, morally and aesthetically, and to instill in them the sacred feeling of love for the socialist motherland. A substantial contribution to this noble task is being made by the workers of Soviet cinema.

Indeed, the audience attracted yearly by films adds up to tens of millions of people of all ages and social groups. The cinema is distinguished by the universality of its impact on man's spiritual and emotional world, the accessibility and expressiveness of its artistic language. It is a powerful tool of the party's ideological work of educating and enlightening the viewer. It is very important under today's conditions that the cinema serve the Soviet people and the cause of communism even better and more effectively. This was the goal that prompted the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to adopt the decree "Measures to Further Enhance the Ideological-Artistic Level of Films and Reinforce the Material-Technical Base of Cinematography."

The decree essentially constitutes a concrete program for the further development of Soviet cinema over the long term. It formulates precisely the high standards imposed on the cinema by the present stage of development of our society and the rising spiritual needs of Soviet people, and it sets forth the most important tasks of effectively enhancing the ideological and artistic level of films, improving the organization of their production and distribution. It provides reliable ideological and creative guidelines which will help in comprehending more deeply and depicting more clearly on the screen the processes taking place in Soviet society and in the world arena; they will help to strengthen the influence of film works on the spiritual growth of our people.

The decree closely links the ideological and artistic tasks and requirements to a broad complex of measures designed to strengthen the material-technical base of the cinema, to resolve its most pressing organizational, financial, and economic problems. Being aware that the artistic level of works in cinema depends to a large extent on the condition of the technical base and its financial-economic support, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have provided the maximum possible material-technical resources and financial funds for these purposes. Thus, the decree is one of the most all-encompassing and large-scale measures in the history of Soviet cinema, backing its development with a firm material-technical and financial base.

## I

The decree presents a worthy assessment of Soviet cinema's contribution to the construction of a new society, the education of the people, the enrichment of

Soviet and world artistic culture. Guided by unshakeable Leninist principles of the party-mindedness and national character [narodnost'] of the art of socialist realism, the masters of our cinema created dozens of films, which multiplied the energy of the builders of the first five-year plans and helped the party to indoctrinate millions of dedicated patriots who defeated the fascist aggressors. Scorched by the fires of war, the Soviet filmmaker marched against the foe alongside the soldier, bolstering the fighting man's bravery, valor, heroic effort and will to victory. In the decades after the war, Soviet cinema emerged as an active participant in overcoming the difficult consequences of the war, accelerating the all-round progress of the country, and resolving the ambitious tasks of the building of developed socialism.

Today, as well, the masters of the screen are enriching Soviet culture with ideologically and professionally mature, intelligent films by talented artists. They elucidate the people's past and present in a fitting manner, focusing attention on the truly crucial problems of the life of Soviet society that are of genuine concern to the people.

The gratifying response that such films have received from millions of workers once more confirms the incontrovertible truth that only when the artist is in close contact with life, depicting it in a profound and truthful manner, is it possible to open the true path toward creative accomplishments, toward universal recognition.

But life goes forward, imposes ever newer demands on the cinematographer, and makes his tasks more complicated. The people of Soviet cinema are well aware that in order to respond in a fitting manner to the party's and people's expectations it is necessary to be a persistent and active participant in the creation of the new society. Art best fulfills its high calling when it not only keeps pace with the times but also strides ahead, when the artist boldly peers into tomorrow and is able to portray the future, the long term, in a convincing, clear, and artistically truthful manner, through the prism of today. The sense of dissatisfaction with what has been accomplished, striving for ever higher goals in creativity, is a noble and fruitful sentiment which has always distinguished the true artist.

The main endeavor in the development of Soviet cinema, the decree points out, is an artistic portrayal of today, in all its variety and complexity, that is ever more profound in content and perfected in form. This is a long-established tradition of Soviet cinema. It is essential now, however, to emphasize especially that the tradition needs to be developed further, and substantially. It is especially vital that the abundant resources of the cinema be used to reveal more accurately and fully the key processes of our time, the new developments coming into being through the party's multifaceted efforts and the people's intensive labor.

We have entered a historic period of dynamic changes relating to the perfecting of developed socialism. It calls for major changes in all spheres of the life of Soviet society: in productive forces; in production, social-class and nationality relations; in political organization; in culture and ideology; and in the level of well-being. These changes are coming to



constitute the objective, material basis for the progress of human characters and relations, the flowering of the socialist personality.

The life of our contemporary, worker and creator, is being enriched with new content, for every instant of every day entails a multitude of problems and phenomena of social development--that is, social reality itself. This link is sometimes inaccessible to the superficial glance and is hard to reveal on the mundane level. But consciousness of it is one of the most important conditions for awakening man's civic commitment, creative boldness, and state approach. The power of art is its ability to recreate life's truth with impressive concreteness, in images that are convincing by their realism, to reveal the organic link and constant interaction between the world of the individual and the larger world of history.

The social and moral enhancement of the personality is a most vital object of artistic endeavor. To portray it by artistic means in a comprehensive and objective manner is to take part in accelerating and activating the process itself. Unfortunately, however, genuine endeavor on the screen is frequently replaced either by pale "sketches" of particular cases, which are unable to convey the whole fullness of social reality, or by the portrayal of the purely personal, subjective ideas of the film's authors concerning our contemporaries and the present day. A personal, lyrical perception of life and man, unquestionably, is only natural and even essential in art. But it is fruitful only if it captures the objective laws governing events and reflects them truthfully from the author's correct position, if it is backed up by the artist's striving and ability to rise to an understanding of the dialectics of the development of society and the individual, the historically determined nature of his fate.

The Soviet cinematographer's experience, having passed through various stages of creative questing, accumulated abundant experience in victory and tasted the bitter lessons of defeat, demonstrates that a film leaves a trace in people's souls and influences viewers primarily through the integrity of the individual, moral and intellectual attractiveness, the nobility of the acts of its heroes, and especially their striving to give all of themselves to the people, the party, and the country. How interesting and expansive the personality of the hero is, how profoundly his character is revealed, constitutes a most vital condition for a film's success, effectiveness, and "longevity." This is why one of the most important--if not the most important--tasks of today's cinematographic creativity is to present a convincing, realistic portrayal of our contemporary, whether worker or kolkhoznik, engineer or scientist, party worker or serviceman, with his inherent high ideological-political and moral qualities, spirit of creativity and uncompromising attitude toward everything that hinders his advance.

These are the people on which the party relies in dealing with the tasks of intensifying the national economy, accelerating scientific-technical progress, implementing the Food and Energy programs, improving living and working conditions, enhancing the well-being and enriching the spiritual life of the Soviet people, and strengthening the defensive might of the country.

We are not speaking of some contrived or, as it used to be put, "rose-tinted" hero, the kind that does not exist in real life and would not, consequently, be believed by the viewer. The people and the party expect from the Soviet cinematographer a genuine positive hero, one who is close to the Soviet people, the kind of hero in whom they can recognize the traits of their comrades, their contemporaries. Unquestionably, it is more difficult today for the screenwriter, director, or actor to create such a positive image than it was in the cinema of, for example, the 1930s, 1940s or 1950s. People have become spiritually, intellectually and morally richer; the problems, contradictions and conflicts which they encounter in all spheres of social life have become more complex; viewers' tastes and demands are greater. But the positive hero--the clear-cut, strong, attractive, vigorous, brave individual--is vitally essential on the screen. Viewers don't have enough of them, although there are millions of such heroes in real life. It is not surprising that Soviet viewers have written a number of letters to the CPSU Central Committee and to newspaper and journal editors complaining that in the cinema of recent years the negative characters often come out more interesting and in some ways even more attractive than the positive ones. We can agree with this opinion, but we cannot tolerate the situation.

It would be wrong to oversimplify the problem, of course. We cannot fail to see that the portrayal of the positive qualities of today's Soviet man in his ordinary, mundane, workaday life, the revelation of his abundant inner world and the sense of his deeds and actions, is more difficult and complex than the creation of images of heroes acting in dangerous and extreme situations, fighting with enemies and overcoming the difficulties of the Civil and the Great Patriotic wars or the first postwar years. Nevertheless, we have every reason to believe that the task is fully within the powers of Soviet cinematographers and our masters of the screen. This is attested especially by the cinema's whole experience, a number of films in recent years whose authors have managed to create clear-cut, attractive characters embodying the best traits of our contemporaries.

A kind of plenipotentiary of the cinematographer in the movie theater or on the television screen is, above all, the actor. It is through him that the stream of thought and feelings in the film comes to the viewer. Coming together in him to portray the character on the screen are the efforts of the screenwriter, the director, cameraman, and artist. We are vitally interested in ensuring that the actor's personality and professional expertise serve to deepen artistic images and strengthen their believability and instructiveness.

The problem of portraying our contemporary entails categories of the veracity and popular character of art. The hero's image has an impact on the viewer only when it possesses the virtues of objectivity, embodies the traits of human characters and relations, is cinematically expressive and is illuminated from within by the light of the communist idea. An image which is concocted and contrived, on the other hand, leaves viewers uncaring, however well it is endowed with good looks on the screen.

In determining the criteria of the veracity of an artistic work, obviously, we must proceed on the basis that the process of shaping the new man is just as continuous and complex as our life itself is. Art participates in this

process through artistic images which concentrate in themselves the practical experience of the people and the beauty of our ideals. At the same time, art influences life through lessons of human dramas and errors.

In his report at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade K. U. Chernenko stated that our forward progress is hindered by defects in the economic mechanism, unsatisfactory labor productivity and insufficient civic maturity and discipline on the part of some people. All too frequent still are such ugly phenomena as the theft of socialist property, corruption, speculation and hooliganism. Drunkenness causes serious damage to socialist domestic life, morality, and work. We cannot ignore the fact that a certain portion of our citizens are prisoners of the consumer mentality, of philistinism, as witnessed in the inadequacies of the ideological, labor, and moral indoctrination of certain young people.

The party is doing everything it can to impose order in all aspects of our life, to raise to a new level efforts in the sphere of moral education of the individual. The struggle to strengthen discipline and organization, to ensure that everyone does his job in a responsible, effective and high-quality manner, the struggle to eliminate from our reality and morality everything that is alien to the socialist way of life--this is not a campaign but rather a firm and consistent party policy. It is essential that workers of the cinema take increasingly active and effective part in this struggle.

Veracity in film requires that the contradictions of life be portrayed on the screen. Our cinematography must be characterized by a precise and principled line directed against a one-sided, monotonous portrayal of reality in which the affirmation of positive values becomes a blissful portrayal of life and criticism of negative phenomena a collection of all kinds of abnormalities. It must be stated frankly that in cinema, as in other forms of art, there are cases in which the artist--or, more often, the artistic hack--deliberately lays it on thick and pursues shortcomings in order to pander to that essentially small portion of viewers who expect primarily sensationalism from works of art. This is sometimes done also in hopes of ingratiating oneself at some "overseas" festival where there are always people who are ready to applaud this kind of "critical boldness."

Soviet society has long since developed norms and traditions which unite politics and daily life, human social and moral problems. It is only natural and fully justified that Soviet cinema should turn so often to the theme of morality and moral questing, affirming the highly cultivated feelings, moral purity and spiritual nobility of socialist man. Snags generally develop in cases where the portrayal of daily life becomes an excess of banality on the screen, when so-called personal life is divorced from social life, when the author's position is unclear with regard to negative phenomena and those who are their carriers.

Yet another problem which is inseparably linked to the veracity of the cinema. The masters of the cinema, theoreticians and critics, are well aware that the task of enhancing film effectiveness may be hindered by a contrived originality [original'nichan'ye] intended for the so-called elite, the "chosen connoisseurs," as well as by excessive simplicity that is incompatible with



true art. The cinematographer must speak to the mass viewer in the language of high art which is accessible to intellectual understanding and emotional perception.

The ideological potential of a film, the thrust of its meaning, is by no means unconcerned with, for example, the kind of music played in it, how the world of objects seen in each frame looks, the character of the dialogue and how the actors are selected. These are all, certainly, purely professional problems in which specialists can see best what should be done and how. In dealing with them, however, the cinematic professional must constantly keep in mind that every detail in the film, whether viewed separately or along with other details, in the final analysis "works" on the ideological concept, the content, and hence determines the path along which the artist wishes to lead the viewer.

Soviet cinema has always been distinguished by its interest in a broad range of historical themes--from the events of the distant past to films about the revolution, the people's feats of arms and labor in the 1930s and 1940s and subsequent years. The significance of these films lies primarily in the fact that they acquaint the younger generations with the magnificent gains and heroic traditions of our society and people, providing indoctrination.

It is no less essential that each such film recreate a particular fragment of the country's history, so to speak extending the thread from its past to the present and back again, thereby compelling the viewer to think about the historical process as a whole. This places on the artist an extraordinarily great responsibility, requiring that he exercise consistent historicism, maximum honesty and faithfulness to the historical truth--faithfulness, moreover, not only and not so much in details as in the revelation of the objective logic of historical events, a precise class-based assessment of them. Any deviation from methodologically tested positions in elucidating the past, as artistic experience has shown, is fraught with a tendency to idealize outmoded moral norms and values of life as well as the distorted vision of both individual personages and whole historical periods.

While on the subject of the artistic representation of historical themes, we cannot pass over in silence the fact that recently there has been a noticeable weakening in the creative endeavors of cinematographers working on socially profound films dealing with the history of the revolution, the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War. The level of the approach to themes of this kind is frequently diminished by an increase in light-weight adventure films in which everything is structured on the external dynamics of the plot while major characters and profound generalizations are lacking.

Historical themes require special carefulness, maximum accuracy and even, perhaps, punctiliousness, delicacy in the handling of facts, especially as regards the revelation and treatment of historical events and personalities. This has to be said because in some forms, as indeed, by the way, in some works of literature, claims to the artist's right to "conjecture" particular events and characters sometimes lead to taking liberties with historical facts. An artistic work, of course, should not be simply a mirror image of real events. But neither should it be a distorted image. Films are viewed by



millions of people who trust Soviet cinema. It is essential that this high authority not be utilized to propound someone's subjective ideas and views, ones which deviate from the conclusions of science and actual history.

It is, unfortunately, also necessary to comment on the inadequate efforts of the cinematographers in regard to implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "Improving the Production and Showing of Films for Children and Adolescents." Only rarely, as before, do young persons have the opportunity to see films that have been designed for their psychology, and the youngest viewers never see any children's films at all. This is a serious shortcoming in our cinema, a shortcoming that is especially intolerable considering the present implementation of the general-education and vocational school reform, when the party is so broadly and fundamentally addressing questions of the education of the rising generation.

In recent years there has been a noticeable increase in the social significance of the documentary film, that inseparable and vital link in our system of mass information and propaganda media, an effective instrument for enlightening the masses. Soviet documentary makers are keeping a living chronicle of the era that is invaluable to history; they are helping to see more clearly and understand more deeply the variegated phenomena and problems of the country's economic, social, and spiritual life. Goskino [USSR State Committee for Cinematography] is responsible for seeing to it that publicistic, scientific-popular and chronicle films are brought promptly to the viewers and occupy a fitting place in the cinema repertory. Television, as well, possesses considerable possibilities for showing such films on our home screens.

One of the most vital aspects of the work of the cinema today is the creation of films on international themes. Documentary makers--publicists of the screen--are actively involved in this, and artistic films of this kind are becoming more numerous. It must be admitted, however, that works which unmask imperialism in a professional, clear-cut, artistically and emotionally convincing manner, films which skillfully and intelligently propagandize the peace-loving goals of the policies of the Soviet state and recount the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, are still in short supply. Yet how important it is that such works of cinema find their way to international screens and also enjoy increased popularity in domestic distribution.

The Soviet people are gratified by the marked expansion in the variety of genres of the Soviet cinema. Adventure, science fiction, and comedy films and musicals have ceased to be "scarce goods," or nearly so. Unfortunately, however, quantitative growth as yet clearly predominates over qualitative. A large number of films of these genres are distinguished by low professional and artistic qualities, evoking the justified complaints of viewers.

Still at work here, obviously, is the inertia of the view that once held sway in our cinema that entertainment films are something different, that they are not classified as high art and should be measured by other, weaker criteria. In reality, films of this genre, like "serious" films, in the final analysis also educate people ideologically, morally, and aesthetically, though to be

sure they fulfill this function using specific artistic means. Treating them like "peripheral" cinema, therefore, like something that can be made in a slipshod manner, must be decisively eliminated.

"Blank spots" on the thematic chart of Soviet cinema attest that among filmmakers, unfortunately, there are a number of masters who are shying away from the vital events of today and the urgent themes deriving from them. The system of state commissions [zakazy] to encourage work on genuinely artistic films is not being adequately utilized. Yet such commissions prompted the filming of "The Battleship Potemkin" and "October," "Shchors" and "Lenin in October," "Liberation" and "The Great Patriotic War." These and other similar examples are always worthwhile keeping in mind when drawing up plans for the release of new films.

## II

The development of contemporary art cannot be fruitful outside the traditions and experience of its predecessors. For the cinematographers of our own days, the films of the founders of Soviet cinema, the best of the works that came out during the terrible years of the Great Patriotic War and the postwar period, retain their vital significance and high instructiveness. Chapayev and Maksim, kolkhoz chairmen Aleksandra Sokolova and Yegor Trubnikov, soldiers Andrey Sokolov and Alesha Skvortsov, communist Vasilii Gubanov and construction brigade leader Potapov have become a part of the life of each of us, like spiritual companions and friends, they have become (as the classic writers of the last century put it) dominating influences. Continuity of the traditions of cinematic thinking and creative practice requires increased attention to the experience of the creation of such characters. It is not, of course, a question of duplicating what has already been done and discovered but of genuinely, creatively enriching the traditions with new discoveries.

The quest for such discoveries goes on constantly, in various languages, on the basis of the abundant cultural traditions of the peoples of our country. Soviet cinema, after all, is a community of national cinemas united by a shared ideology and goals, by fidelity to the cause of the party. The cinematographers of the fraternal republics live and work in an atmosphere of constant interaction, mutual aid. This kind of interaction does not reduce the artists' creativity to one level nor does it destroy national characteristics and special features, but rather enriches each of them, each of the republics.

While on the subject of the national cinemas, we are always emphasizing--this is dictated by cinematic practice itself--that they have many shared accomplishments, but also many shared shortcomings and unresolved problems. In particular, the value of some films is diminished by the narrowness of their themes and interests, their concentration on the particularities of ethnic life [natsional'nyy byt].

It is only natural and understandable that workers in the national cinemas should strive to portray the life of their own republics, to reveal its uniqueness, to penetrate deeper into its problems. A film of that sort becomes a truly great ideological and creative success, however, only when its

makers portray the accomplishments and concerns of their people in close connection with the life of all our multinational country, in the context of the social-economic and spiritual processes, internationalist in content, which are the same for all Soviet nations and nationalities and which determine the main thrust of development of each republic, each people.

The process of the flourishing and rapprochement of Soviet nations and nationalities is gathering force before our eyes. It proclaims itself everywhere: in economics, the social sphere, culture and daily life. Each of our republics, each nation is tied with the others by thousands of life-giving threads, and these ties are becoming increasingly stronger and more various. The multinationality of the population of the republics and the composition of the labor collectives is becoming stronger; personal, human contacts are multiplying among people of various nationalities; thousands and thousands of workers and specialists of the national economy, representing practically all our nations and nationalities, all republics, are working shoulder to shoulder on the construction projects and enterprises of the Far North and the Far East, on the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline], projects of the Nonchernozem Zone, in all parts of our vast country.

This is one of the most important tendencies of life in the land of the soviets. It is the duty of Soviet cinematographers to foster its affirmation in every way, by creating films infused with the spirit of internationalism, depicting in a clear-cut and truthful manner the processes of the rapprochement of Soviet peoples, their unshakeable Leninist friendship. This constitutes for every Soviet artist a truly inexhaustible source of attractive, noble themes, a broad field for inspired creativity.

The documents of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasize the growing significance of artistic criticism for the fruitful development of all our literature and art, including cinema, naturally. Cinema criticism which is wise, principled and infused with party-mindedness, constituting an organic part of the process of film creation, has always helped the artist to successfully resolve urgent ideological-creative tasks and in collaboration with them actively strives to shape the new man.

In recent years the place of criticism, its position as a component part of our cinema, has become markedly stronger; its role in artistic creativity has risen, as has its theoretical level. It must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that our "practical aesthetics," as criticism is sometimes called, is not yet up to the standards of the time. It can and must exert a more substantial, a stronger influence on the whole ideological-creative atmosphere, on the artistic process of film creation itself. In assigning film critics this task, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree at the same time arms them with precise guidelines in resolving it.

Of paramount importance here, one might even say crucial importance, is the task of substantially enhancing the ideological-theoretical armaments of our film criticism. It is capable of carrying out its high social mission only if the critic in his work stands firmly on Marxist-Leninist positions and is consistently guided by Leninist principles, Leninist methodology in analyzing the processes taking place in cinema, evaluating new artistic phenomena. His



party-mindedness and principles also entail that his efforts must foster the creation of works which truthfully reflect the life of our society, the interests and aspirations of the Soviet people, helping to reinforce the social-political and ideological-moral values of the socialist personality. Experience convincingly demonstrates that only in this way is it possible to achieve genuine professional mastery and overcome manifestations of subjectivism, group biases, and an indulgent, liberal attitude toward ideological and artistic errors.

I should like to emphasize, at the same time, that one of the fundamental, unshakeable traditions of Marxist-Leninist criticism is that of harmonizing the accuracy of ideological assessments, depth of social analysis and aesthetic exactingness with a careful treatment of talents and fruitful creative searching.

Today more than ever before, critical articles, commentary, speeches and books dealing with problems of the cinema are becoming accessible not only to professionals but also to the broad, mass audience. This must also be taken into account. The point is not, moreover, just to make the language of cinema criticism more accessible. It is no less important to ensure that criticism helps viewers and readers to correctly understand, through the prism of concrete artistic phenomena and images, both the general thrust of the creative process and the actual reality reflected in the films, and the place of Soviet man in it. In other words, the critic must always keep in mind that he is also a participant in the communist education of the masses.

And this means that our press--party, soviet or Komsomol--must act correctly, focusing more attention on the problems of cinema, propagandizing its achievements, improving the level and variety of publications on a given theme.

Criticism's influence on our cinema, undoubtedly, will become stronger if it becomes more involved in the practice of film creation, including the work of the studios. The cinema critic must become an inevitable and active participant in the creative process at all stages, from the discussion of thematic plans and screenplays to the final film. Unfortunately, this kind of close collaboration between critics and screenwriters, directors, cameramen and artists is as yet a rare phenomenon. Yet it would bring undoubted benefits to the film's authors and the critic himself and, naturally, our cinema as a whole.

Criticism, of course, should not be the domain of just a few professionals, so to speak. We view criticism and self-criticism as a powerful motive force in all our life. For this reason, the leadership of Goskino, the USSR Union of Cinematographers, the cinema studios, and party and trade union organizations must manifest constant concern for the creation of an atmosphere of principled exactingness in the scenario collegiums, in artistic councils, and in state and social cinema organizations, especially in discussing screenplays and films. Cinema workers will derive patent benefit for themselves if they will carefully heed the desires, suggestions and comments of the viewers, who are attentive, demanding and well-intentioned connoisseurs of art.



While on the subject of current and future problems of the development of Soviet cinema, of course, we are also focusing on the younger generation of cinematographers. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree sets forth as a task of paramount importance that of enhancing the quality of work with young people. Young people's creative growth requires organic harmonization of professional training with the shaping of the young artist's Marxist-Leninist world view, his profound understanding of the ideological and artistic principles of the art of socialist realism, his civic formation and self-education. These tasks must be kept constantly in the field of vision of the party organizations of the cinema studios, the Union of Cinematographers and USSR Goskino.

We cannot help being disturbed by cases where some young screenwriters, directors and actors are socially passive, are afraid to get boldly involved in life, and shun crucial themes of today, sometimes confining themselves to local, chamber plots or screen adaptations. All this leads to petty subject matter and weakens the civic fervor of the creative effort. Young filmmakers can become worthy successors and enrich the art of cinema with superb achievements if they will study life deeply, creatively assimilate the experience of the older generations of masters, and carefully preserve and multiply the remarkable traditions of Soviet cinema. This is absolutely necessary. It is essential that the acknowledged masters, leaders of the state, social and creative organizations of the cinema in the center and in the outlying areas help them in every way.

This help, moreover, must not turn into petty stewardship, which can only hinder the process of the ideological and creative shaping of the young artist. Those among them who have matured enough for independent work must be given greater trust and more opportunity to test their abilities in a real big endeavor.

More than any other art, perhaps, cinema is capable of crossing the borders between states and reaching the widest possible audience abroad. Our films have brought to hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the globe the truth about the land of the soviets, the Soviet way of life, genuine socialism, the peace-loving foreign policy of our party and state. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree creates all the conditions and provides new opportunities for further enhancing this vital role of Soviet cinema.

We have a good foundation. Soviet cinema has indeed won the highest international prestige and created works that have become classics of world cinema. Our films are playing on the screens of dozens of countries and have been awarded prizes at the most prestigious film festivals.

I should like to emphasize, moreover, that real success among foreign viewers has always been achieved by Soviet films which truthfully and in an artistically convincing manner recount the revolutionary transformations in our country and reveal the character of Soviet man--patriot and internationalist, active builder of a new system, unconquerable defender of the socialist motherland. Such has been the case when foreign screens show "The Battleship Potemkin" and "Descendant of Genghis Khan," "Chapayev" and

"Lenin in October," "We Are from Kronstadt" and "Ballad of a Soldier," "The Communist" and "Liberation," "Lenin in Poland" and "The Prize," and many other excellent works of socialist realism. Soviet cinema has its own unique character reflecting the fundamental traits of a new world; it has always been a passionate fighter for the ideals of humanism, peace, freedom and social progress. This provides the source of its enormous ideological and moral power, its truly global recognition.

Today when the international situation has sharply worsened through the fault of imperialism, especially American imperialism, when the ideological centers of the West have unleashed a ferocious "psychological war" against our country and other fraternal states, it is especially important to reinforce, multiply and develop these historical gains of our cinema and use them in cultural exchanges and all foreign policy propaganda. We are fully aware that we are confronted by an enemy who is very clever, experienced, and skillful in the techniques of lying, deceiving the masses, justifying the abominations of bourgeois policies and morality, and slandering socialism. In his ideological and propaganda arsenals a prominent role is played by cinematic falsification of history, distortion and juggling of the facts, embellishing of the image of capitalism and the bourgeois way of life. This is why it is so urgently necessary to be more active in creating films on a high professional level, films which can make their way abroad, gain a mass audience there and thereby make a contribution to the struggle for the minds and hearts of people.

This is, of course, especially difficult to do at present. Reactionary forces are putting up all kinds of obstacles, including even direct discriminatory measures against our films. Nevertheless, as life convincingly demonstrates, our best films are surmounting all barriers and attracting numerous viewers in practically all regions.

Real, genuine success--ideological, creative and political--is being gained abroad by those of our films whose authors refuse to accommodate to the standards of Western cinema and the tastes of that segment of the public which has been brought up in the spirit of bourgeois "mass culture", instead undertaking on a high professional level to enrich and develop the best features of Soviet cinema and stand up for the most advanced ideals of the era. In this regard the party's line is clear and consistent: in the development of cinema, as in any other kind of art, ideological-political and creative criteria are of crucial importance to us. It is gratifying to note that this line is fully understood and supported by the workers of Soviet cinema, who are not subject to market considerations and will not accept any retreat or compromise of an ideological and artistic nature. By creating superb, highly professional works which are infused with the spirit of humanism and optimism, the creators of Soviet films are strengthening the authority of our cinema in the international arena and helping to affirm the ideals of peace, friendship and collaboration between peoples.

### III

Soviet cinema has always been state cinema. This is a fundamental gain of our system. Thanks to it, the most mass-oriented of the arts has been put reliably in the service of the working people from the very first.

State principles in conducting cinema policy, taking account of and meeting social needs in works of cinema, are being implemented today by the USSR State Committee for Cinematography. And it is doing a pretty good job on the whole. At the same time, life sets before it new tasks as mapped out in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree. The decree directs USSR Goskino to eliminate shortcomings in the organization of film planning and production and screenplay development, to adopt new creative techniques, develop the material-technical base of cinema and to substantially enhance the quality of leadership of all aspects of the activities of our cinema. It is essential to raise even higher the level of organization, discipline and responsibility of the committee's workers in all links and on all levels, to strive to reinforce everywhere the spirit of initiative and efficiency, to strengthen control over the execution of decisions that have been taken, and to manifest every concern for effective utilization of material and financial resources that have been allocated.

We cannot gaze complacently on the fact that the flow of mediocre films which have nothing to offer, as the saying goes, either to the mind or the heart, is being reduced all too slowly. Yet USSR Goskino has been letting them get by. One of the committee's most vital tasks today is to take decisive measures--organizational, financial, and creative--in order to block such products.

The heart of our cinema--its primary cell, so to speak--is the film studio. For it constitutes the immediate creative laboratory, where filmmakers conceive, work out, and execute the making of films. At the same time it is a mighty production facility, a real film factory, where hundreds of technical specialists work. One of the main goals of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree is that of bonding even more closely all links of the film production process, enhancing the motivation and responsibility of both the creative workers of the studios and all others who are involved in the material-technical aspect of film creation.

Increasing the involvement of the artistic councils can be a big factor here, for they unite authoritative representatives of various professions in cinematography, the creative unions and party and trade union organizations. They have been given important rights. It is essential to do everything possible to ensure that their beneficial influence is felt everywhere and in all stages of the cinematic process.

Artistic practice confirms that a genuinely good film can emerge only when it is based on literary material from life, with real rather than contrived problems, an interesting plot and heroes with full-fledged characters. Much depends, of course, on the professionalism of the directors, the performance of the actors, set design and music. But without clear-cut and strong cinedramaturgy it is unlikely that a substantial work will emerge or that the viewer will get satisfaction from the film on the screen.

Much has been done in recent years to improve screenplay development. Nevertheless, these efforts cannot be considered fully successful, for weaknesses in film planning and production derive precisely from the inadequate level of work in the preparation and critical analysis of



screenplays. The decree is oriented toward a fundamental resolution of problems related to this.

Effective measures must be undertaken to radically improve the organization of screenplay development. This effort must become an object of special concern to the leadership of Goskino and the USSR Union of Cinematographers. It is a matter of substantially improving the efforts of all links bearing responsibility for the process of screenplay development, from the creative requisition [zayavka] through to the finished film.

A major role is assigned to the studio's editorial apparatus, the republic cinematography committees, and USSR Goskino. After all, a number of complaints which are evoked by a particular unsuccessful film could be avoided if from the very beginning the editors and members of the artistic councils of the associations and studios exerted more exactingness and professionalism when examining, evaluating, and approving uncompleted screenplays. It is essential that the screenplay-editorial collegiums of the film studios, the republic cinematography committees, and USSR Goskino manifest more initiative, consistency, and, of course, responsibility in work on screenplays, endeavoring more broadly to enlist outstanding writers and publicists to write them and developing creative contacts with literary-artistic journals and publishing houses. And, of course, they ought to make full use of their rights and opportunities to firmly block works that are artistically weak or insufficiently mature in ideas.

It is important to create the necessary conditions for a fruitful creative process. The cinema, moreover, fully carries out its ideological-educational function only when it is based on well-organized film services to the public, on a well-thought-out repertory policy. We are by no means in good shape in this regard, and there is much that requires substantial improvement.

We are especially dissatisfied with the formation of the repertory. We can no longer tolerate the fact that a number of our serious and intelligent films sometimes disappear from cinema programs before they have been seen by all those who desire to, while artistically weak films are often given an unjustifiably long screen life. It is disappointing that the best films of past years, films that have become part of the golden collection of Soviet spiritual culture and are essential for the education of younger generations coming of age, are rare guests on the screen.

Working people have written to the CPSU Central Committee expressing criticism because the film repertory includes so many of what are known as "box office hits" made in the West, films which are, as a rule, artistically bankrupt and include numerous scenes of violence, immoral behavior, and banality--in short, films which propagandize a way of life alien to us.

Our party's principled line in this matter was stated precisely by Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "...For us," he emphasized, "the political rather than the commercial approach must be paramount."



Naturally, we are in favor of a broad and fruitful exchange of artistic values with all countries of the world. But values only! In other words, the point is to allow films of a humanistic and realistic orientation on our screens. We do not want hack substitutes for art, films containing ideas and motives which are in conflict with our society's ideology and morality.

In short, the leadership of USSR Goskino, as well as organizations involved in the selection and purchase of foreign films, must straighten things out in this matter and strive to ensure that the showing of such films is based primarily on the tasks of our ideological effort.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree calls for a broad complex of measures designed to strengthen and develop the material-technical base of film production and distribution. The state is allocating substantial sums for these purposes. It is the prime task of the central and local organs of cinematography to manage them boldly and economically, to gain the maximum yield from them. It is appropriate to speak of this because for many years capital investments in this sphere have been assimilated too slowly and incompletely. In accordance with the aforementioned decree, USSR Goskino is to collaborate with USSR Gosplan and other concerned ministries, departments, and local party and soviet organs in undertaking everything that is necessary to overcome this negative practice and to achieve decisive improvement of matters in the remodeling of the film studios, the construction of movie theaters and other film facilities, and the production of film.

Both in the domestic life of Soviet cinema and in the development of its international contacts, a vital role is rightly assigned to the USSR Union of Cinematographers. The union is doing a great deal of work to strengthen ties between the masters of the screen and the practice of communist construction, the exchange of creative experience.

While giving due credit to this effort, we can at the same time see that the union's influence on the development of our cinema could and should be much more effective. In particular, it is not sufficiently involved in the actual creative process of film creation, the activities of the film studios. There is practically no discussion of materials being shot and edited. Even the finished films are not discussed as regularly as they should be. In some of the union's organizations, moreover, there are cases of excessive praise of one another's films, passing over in silence their shortcomings and mistakes.

The decree assigns large and important tasks to the USSR Union of Cinematographers. One of the most important of these tasks is to strengthen in its organizations and commissions an atmosphere of high principles and exactingness, stronger ideological-educational work. The content and forms of this work must be enriched in order to more effectively deepen artists' Marxist-Leninist world view, party purposefulness, civic maturity, inner honesty, high intellectuality and moral purity, self-criticism, and the ability to work conscientiously.

It is no secret that the union's membership includes people who are socially inert and passive, who make their films in a manner that is indifferent to

good and evil. To change their psychology, their mental outlook, is not a simple task. But unless it is undertaken, a certain segment of cinema workers will remain untouched by ideological-creative influence. This simply cannot be permitted. The party appreciates the artist's talent, and everything must be done to ensure that he serves the people.

The decree is essentially addressed also to the other creative unions--the writers, artists and composers; it directs them to take increasingly active part in the development of Soviet cinema. At the same time, of course, the USSR Union of Cinematographers and Goskino must show more initiative, energy, and vigor in deepening collaboration with these organizations.

Soviet cinema works in concert with the cinema establishments of the socialist countries. Joint efforts have brought forth a number of truly brilliant, talented films which constitute a significant phenomenon. It must be stated nevertheless, frankly, that the yield is as yet not very great. Genuine success in joint film production is still a rarity, especially in dealing with contemporary themes. More effective use should be made of the international film festivals in Moscow and Tashkent, Karlovy Vary and Leipzig, and other cinema forums in order to unite the progressive forces of world cinema. Creative meetings of cinematographers of the fraternal countries must become more businesslike and goal-directed in character.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree is an exceptionally important, vital event in the history of Soviet cinema. It sets up all the necessary preconditions to ensure that our cinema rises to a qualitatively new level responding to the high standards which the party today imposes on all spheres of Soviet society's spiritual life.

Implementation of the responsible tasks set forth in the decree is truly a complex and creative endeavor. Here it is essential to constantly keep in mind Lenin's legacy: "...To go definitely farther, to achieve definitely more, to progress definitely from easier tasks to more difficult ones. Without this," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "no progress is possible at all, no progress is possible in socialist construction" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 37, p 196).

The decree orients cinematographers toward an effort that is great, intensive, and at the same time joyous and inspirational, for the Soviet artist has no nobler or higher obligation than to create for his people.

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## ORIENTATION TO QUALITY--A LONG-RANGE COURSE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by Dr of Economic Sciences V. Chernyavskiy; last article by the noted Soviet economist Vasiliy Osipovich Chernyavskiy, who died on 13 June 1984]

[Text] Improving production quality is the most important problem in the contemporary development of the socialist economy. The question was particularly urgently raised in the resolutions of the 25th and 26th party congresses and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. Extensive work is being done in that direction. Nevertheless, its results cannot be considered satisfactory. The power of inertia and the existing indicators for planning and assessing production results and methods for its stimulation are still hindering the successful solution of this problem.

The system orientation toward quality parameters in economic development is the main component in production intensification. All economic categories are interrelated. Essentially, improving quality and intensification are a single task of upgrading the efficiency of the socialist economy.

What obstructs the qualitative development of the production process today and what type of economic levers could ensure the successful implementation of its tasks?

### I

Scientific and technical progress is manifested in the production of essentially new commodities and steadily upgrading production quality. We are aware of many examples in which work to upgrade its quality has yielded good results. The Lvov Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin developed and applied a comprehensive quality control system: all items, including those for export, are produced together. At the Azerelektrosvet Plant in Baku most of the output bears the Emblem of Quality. The machine tools produced at the Krasnyy Proletariy enjoy a good reputation among the consumers as do turbines produced in Leningrad, excavators produced in Kiev and radio receivers produced in Riga. However, these and many other positive examples cannot conceal the fact that the problem of upgrading the efficiency and quality of all work is yet to be resolved.

There is hardly a public production sector in which the problem of upgrading the production quality does not exist. Improving quality, extending the guarantee of equipment life, for example, enable us to reduce outlays for repairs and spare part production, thus releasing metal, equipment and manpower in repair plants for other needs.

The question of the quality of consumer goods is particularly urgent. Consumers demand commodities of improved quality. Such items are purchased more willingly and sell faster. It may seem that it is precisely such items that should be produced above all and in the necessary amounts. However, this is not always the case. Currently, for example, the annual production of shoes is almost three pair per capita; nevertheless, demand is not met. The question is not the insufficient volume of output but the lack of good quality shoes.

Quality means economy, productivity, reliability and durability of new machines and goods and their ability to meet the needs of the consumer most completely. Quality is also an aesthetic quality. It means a beautiful shape, proper finishing and consistency with fashion, particularly in the state of consumer goods. Quality goods, finally, mean strict consistency with the stipulations of existing standards. High quality cannot be ensured without taking social requirements into consideration.

This must be pointed out also because the problem of quality is frequently reduced to the struggle against waste and to claims. Naturally, we must fight waste but this is no more than part of a complex and difficult quality control task. The first assessment of the quality of an item or a finished product is made by the technical control departments. It is well-known that the personnel of such departments at enterprises willy-nilly defend most frequently the interests not of the consumer but of their collective. That is why our press is publishing with increasing urgency suggestions of putting the control service under USSR Gosstandart. Unquestionably, this would contribute, in our view, to normalizing control over production quality in the course of its manufacturing.

Commodity certification began in 1967. The items are classified as high category, which is awarded the state Emblem of Quality, and as goods of first and second categories. Periodically recertifications are made. Awarding the state Emblem of Quality creates in the production collective a certain material and moral incentive to upgrade the consumer qualities of produced goods. Thus, certified goods for industrial-technical use are given new wholesale prices and temporary (for the duration of the state Emblem of Quality) markups which compensate for additional outlays and ensure higher profitability for the manufacturer. In 1982 superior quality goods represented 15.3 percent of the total volume.

The CPSU Central Committee USSR Council of Ministers July 1979 decree on improving the economic mechanism mentions the need for the production at new enterprises of goods the technical standards and quality of which should be consistent with or surpass the best domestic and foreign models. Wholesale incentive markups for new highly efficient goods have been increased. Should



the quality of consumer goods be significantly improved and should they be awarded the state Emblem of Quality, withholdings for the economic incentive funds of enterprises and associations are increased: up to 70 percent of the additional profits earned from the manufacturing of the new commodity go to such funds. Prices of obsolete commodities are lowered.

In reality, however, not everything is as smooth as it is on paper. It is no secret that measures related to certification and awarding the Emblem of Quality do not always hit their target. The Emblem of Quality is frequently awarded to less important commodities or to commodities produced in insignificant amounts. It also happens that soon after the certification the quality of the goods sharply drops or else that their production is completely stopped.

The present mechanism for encouraging labor collectives to produce high-quality goods suffers from breakdowns. The collective of a shop or enterprise which has earned for its goods the Emblem of Quality with a great deal of effort is not awarded a price markup. Such a markup is based on the consumer's confirmation that the use of the new commodity saved him money. However, the consumer frequently thinks as follows: such a confirmation means that the suppliers will raise their prices which will increase my own production costs. As we can see, the partners have their own views and their interests do not always coincide. Meanwhile, quality improvements usually involve additional outlays. This means the collective must face the following choice: either to improve the quality of the goods without fulfilling its production cost plan and lose the right to a bonus or else, ignoring quality, overfulfilled quantitative plan indicators and receive the bonus to which it is entitled.

Improving the consumer qualities of goods are also related to improvements in state standards. According to current instructions, goods manufactured in violation of standards or technical stipulations are not considered as part of the fulfillment of the plan without the permission of the respective organizations. Earnings from the marketing of such goods are paid to the state budget. There is a procedure according to which, along with introducing a new standard, the prices of the corresponding new commodities are set and applied. This makes particularly topical the problem of upgrading the quality of the standards themselves, which are not always on the level of the requirements. Thus, the state standards for sunflower seeds covers everything but their oil content. As a result, sovkhozes and kolkhozes have no material incentive to improve the quality of the seeds, for in all cases the price remains the same.

The abundance of existing systems and indicators related to quality control does not always yield positive results. The current planning and price-setting mechanism remains directed mainly toward the fulfillment of quantitative indicators. Practical experience has convincingly proved that the steps currently taken to upgrade production quality are insufficiently efficient and effective.

## II

The conversion of the socialist economy to the track of intensification and a sharp improvement in the quality of output and of all types of work necessitate making structural changes on the scale of the entire national economy and its individual sectors. As we know, our country is first in the world in steel production. However, the volume of the end product (motor vehicles, metal structures, etc.) in no way corresponds to the amount of metal produced. Yet, in the final analysis, the consumer needs not steel but goods made of it.

For a long time ferrous metallurgy developed primarily by increasing the extraction of ore, coal coking and building concentration factories and coke, blast, steel smelting and rolling shops. Meanwhile, a considerable percentage of growing needs for ferrous metal can be satisfied by upgrading the qualitative characteristics of goods produced in a wide variety by producing shaped metal goods which meet consumer requirements better.

The limited variety of shaped rolled metal is one of the reasons for high metal waste. Only 72 percent of the rolled metal is used in machine building and metal processing and ferrous metal waste amounts to about 17 million tons, including 8 million tons of tailings. Therefore, one of the main tasks is to upgrade the quality of the steel, improve the structure of rolled metal output and increase the production of hot- and cold-extruded steel sheets and more precisely shaped rolled metal pieces. Equally important are capacities for thermal processing of items and the production of anticorrosion linings. We must also shift from talk to action in ensuring the extensive development of powder metallurgy. These and other steps would enable us significantly to improve the consumer usefulness of ferrous metal produced in the country.

Today both producers and consumers of rolled metal are to be blamed for its insufficiently effective utilization. That is why reducing the percentage of its consumption would require the restructuring not only of ferrous metallurgy but of machine building technology as well, for it is well-known that substantial metal overexpenditures occur in the manufacturing of a large number of machines and machine units. In turn, increasing the weight and dimensions of goods produced by the machine-building industry leads to increasing the production areas of enterprises and to higher capital construction costs.

In his report to the 26th CPSU Congress, N. A. Tikhonov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, emphasized the need to reduce rolled ferrous metal outlays per unit of finished product in industry and construction. The qualitative development of ferrous metallurgy will enable us significantly to lower expenditures of natural resources and public outlays for the production and consumption of rolled metals, for a single ton of rolled metal requires 6-7 tons of metallurgical raw materials.

The structural changes which would lead to changes in the quantity, quality and variety of produced goods may be accomplished above all in the course of the reconstruction of existing enterprises and new construction. At the present time, however, about 70 percent of capital investments in ferrous

metallurgy go into increasing raw material production and concentration and the production of coke, pig iron and steel. We must sharply increase the share of capital investments in rolled metal production and in finishing goods, in the so-called fourth stage. Yet, about 20 percent of all capital investments go into expanding variety and upgrading the quality of metals. Furthermore, even such allocations are not always used in their entirety. We must also point out that the active life of most metallurgical machine units is far above the norm. This also contributes to the preservation of an inefficient production structure and leads to excessive capital repair costs.

It is usually considered that specific capital investments per unit of output must be reduced. In reality, in most cases production intensification, labor automation and mechanization and improved production quality and expanded variety increase capital investments per ton or linear meter of output. This circumstance is not the least important reason for the fact that steps taken to improve quality are very difficult to achieve. Naturally, the designer of metallurgical items is very familiar with the importance of ensuring the high consumer qualities of the goods. However, he knows even better that his design will not be approved if stipulated specific capital investments have been exceeded, whereas lowering costs would entitle him to a bonus. In designing a metallurgical plant it is difficult to lower costs in the production of pig iron, steel and rolled metal for which reason investments in finishing shops and in machine units which ensure improved production quality are reduced. It is time to review and refine design technical and economic indicators which hinder the conversion of the sector to intensive production development.

In particular, specific capital investments in ferrous metallurgy should clearly be computed per ton not of natural but of so-called reduced rolled metal, based on quality. In order to reduce contradictions between the quantity and quality of produced goods the well-known accountability method is used. Metal production accounting and planning are in convention and reduced tons and pieces; for example, a low-alloy calibrated rolled metal is planned and recorded on the basis of 1.05-1.15 coefficients while ordinary and less economical goods, with 0.90-0.95 coefficient. The reduction coefficients should reflect production outlays and contribute to the implementation of economic strategy aimed at upgrading work efficiency and quality. Therefore, its assessment and incentive must be based on reduced measurements. This procedure has been long and successfully used in the cement industry, in the production of chemical fertilizers and in other sectors.

Naturally, improved quality and expanded variety will trigger a certain increase in the cost per ton of rolled metal and in capital investments needed for its production. In the final analysis, however, the total one-time and capital outlays which should meet this requirement would prove to be lower than outlays needed to meet the same amount of need by increasing metal production without changing technology. Naturally, improved production quality does not exclude in the least a certain growth of output. A proper optimal long-range plan for the development of the sector would enable us to consider its possible variants and to adopt the most efficient among them.



Scientific and technical progress also requires changes in intersectorial national economic ratios. Thus, plastic materials could effectively replace some scarce and expensive rolled metals. Labor-intensiveness drops by approximately a factor of 8 in manufacturing parts made of plastic materials; 1 ton of plastic materials is the equivalent of 3-5 tons of steel. Steel pipes with a diameter of up to 500mm and pressure of up to 6 atmospheres could be replaced by plastic pipes whose specific weight is lower by a factor of 5 and does not require anticorrosion lining.

Today the construction industry uses expensive materials whether needed or not, and lighter-weight structures are insufficiently used.

The use of hollow bricks lowers capital construction outlays. However, such bricks are scarce. From 1970 to 1982 the production of reinforced concrete structures increased by 46 percent, while brick production declined by 4 percent. From the sector to the ministry construction workers need "gross output" in rubles, on which the plan and its fulfillment is based and labor productivity and the wage fund are computed. Lighter-weight structures, hollow bricks and inexpensive materials lower the volume of construction and installation work. The reduced weight per cubic meter of gas concrete from 500 to 300 kilograms enables us to save 30 percent of raw materials, to lower considerably production costs and reduce the thickness of the heat insulation. The advantages seem obvious. However, it is very difficult to use such items at construction sites. This is understandable, for if construction workers use less expensive materials and even lesser thicknesses their volume will be reduced and so will earnings per worker. How to oppose this sluggish inertia?

Construction workers should base their accounts with the customer not on the volume of work done but on the finished project as planned. At that point reducing the cost of materials would increase profit, whereas cost overruns would inflict losses. The July 1979 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanisms stipulates that "by 1981 accounts between customers and contractors must be based on fully completed construction and commissioned enterprises, target complexes, parts and projects ready for production and services, based on cost estimates of commodity construction output." Unfortunately, to this day accounts between customers and contractors at major construction projects are still occasionally based on the volume of work done.

Progressive requirements of upgrading quality and increasing the variety of goods, whether it is a question of metal or construction materials and structures, should be based above all on the consumers of intermediary and finished products. The consumers must be interested above all in obtaining economical high-quality raw materials, materials and finished goods.

Unfortunately, today enterprises are rarely interested in reducing planned material intensiveness of output. The reason is that outlays of that same metal, together with the cost of its transportation and machine processing are included by the consuming enterprise in the production cost of the items produced and considered in setting the plant price. The result is that the heavier and the more expensive the purchased blank is, the higher the planned production cost becomes, as does the price of the commodity and,



correspondingly, the volume of goods marketed. In frequent cases consumers order thicker pipes than they need. Frequently some more efficient and economical rolled metal shapes find no market. Metal structure plants refuse lighter-weight rolled metal parts while shops manufacturing roll-formed, die-rolled and mixed sections, which all 30 to 40 percent metal shavings, are not working at full capacity.

The existing system for planning and assessing production activities and pursuit of quantitative indicators are slowing down scientific and technical progress. Inertia is hindering the fastest possible conversion of the production process to the track of intensification. We continue to think, speak and write that we need more steel, rolled metal and cement. We consider it prestigious to hold a leading position in the extraction of ferrous ores and in haulage. However, could we boast of the fact that about 51 percent of the world's rail haulage is in our country? This percentage includes inefficient empty runs, the burden of which is borne by our railroad transportation system, which is doing its work with a great deal of stress which turns into economic losses.

The satisfaction of social requirements through quality production developments is dictated by the logic of scientific and technical progress. Such development is more efficient and requires less material and labor outlays. However, in order to achieve such an obvious advantage we must reorganize the economic mechanism and, above all, price-setting practices.

### III

All economic computations are made on the shop level. Substantiated and controlled prices, which take into consideration the interests of producers and consumers, must become the basic means of planned economic influence on production and, above all, on improving its quality parameters. Prices of scarce high-quality goods, which would meet consumer requirements best, must be such as to compensate their manufacturers' higher labor and material outlays and develop in them increased economic incentive. In short, they must encourage the production of such items.

Enterprises producing superior-quality goods must be given a privileged position, not to mention that they must not suffer as a result of creating new and better items. Yet, we are aware of cases in which the production of new and progressive equipment has worsened enterprise economic indicators.

At this point we must also mention another important circumstance. The 1955 wholesale prices prevailed for 12 years. The 1967 prices were not revised until 1975 and the latter remained effective until 1982. Understandably, over such a long period of time prices become separated from their base--socially necessary outlays--as a result of which their organizing and stimulating function as a tool for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress declines.

As we know, prices reflect not only outlays but the ratio between the useful effect of old and new commodities. "...The consumer value of a product," Comrade K. Marx pointed out, "will increase not by increasing the quantity of

the product but by improving its quality" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, part I, p 409). Everyone agrees with this, the more so since high-quality raw materials, fuels and machines should fetch higher prices. However, it is precisely assessing the increased usefulness of items which causes the greatest difficulties in price-setting practices.

Let us consider as an illustration a simplified schematic example of setting prices for a new machine tool, ignoring the time factor (in this case the time factor means discounting, i.e., reducing annual income to the initial period). Let us assume that compared to the old model the productivity of a new machine tool is 40 percent higher; furthermore, savings in operational and repair outlays would total 600 rubles per year. Let us assume that the price and reduced production outlays of the old machine tool equalled 10,000 rubles whereas outlays for the manufacturing of the new machine tool totaled 11,000 rubles. How should the price of the new model be set?

Let us use consolidated parametric computations. As a result of the higher productivity of the machine tool its consumer value will increase. The resulting economic effect will be  $10,000 \times 0.40 = 4,000$  rubles. Annual savings from operational and repair expenditures will equal 600 rubles. Therefore, in the first 5 years of use until the first capital repair becomes necessary, savings will total 3,000 rubles. As a whole, savings from the new model will be  $4,000 + 3,000 = 7,000$  rubles. However, taking into consideration increased outlays in the production process, savings will be somewhat lesser:  $7,000 - 1,000 = 6,000$  rubles. How to share this effect between producer and consumer? According to price-setting methodical instructions, the producer should receive 30 to 50 percent of the benefits. With an equal division of the increased economy, the price of the new machine tool, taking into consideration higher production outlays, will be  $10,000 + 1,000 + 3,000 = 14,000$  rubles.

Obviously, such a price will make the plant interested in reaching the production capacity of the new machine tool as rapidly as possible, providing that the work of the enterprise is rated not on the basis of the number of machine tools produced or the reduced cost or reduced outlays per unit of output but the amount of the added product and the profitability created in the course of the production process.

It would be expedient to set graduated prices for the new machine tool model: 14,000 rubles for the first and second production years, 12,000 for the third and 10,500 for the sixth. In 6 years the manufacturing plant will no longer find it profitable to produce such a model and will have to convert to the production of a new and more advanced one. Such a price-setting procedure would make it interesting for the enterprises to accelerate production updating.

Scientifically substantiated and controlled prices which take into consideration the interests of producers and consumers should be based on the tasks of the national economic plan and ensure its implementation. It is precisely prices which could become the basic means of planned economic influence on the production process and, above all, on upgrading production quality. Proceeding from properly formulated tasks and the criterion for

assessing production activities stipulated in the State Plan, the sector or the enterprise will efficiently look for and find optimal ratios between quantity and quality of output and production outlays. The enterprises must be materially and morally interested in producing essentially high-quality goods in a broad variety. This is consistent with the interests of the national economy and, therefore, should be consistent with the interests of the enterprise.

The current indicators of planning, work assessment and encouraging production activities allow us to tolerate the insufficiently clear and substantiated price-setting method. A true interest in scientifically set prices will appear when the economic mechanism becomes systematically directed toward qualitative parameters of economic growth.

Let us recall in this connection the view expressed by the noted Soviet scientist Academician V. S. Nemchinov, 20 years ago: "...As a rule, the bourgeois economists pit prices against the plan and frequently raise the slogan of 'Price Instead of Plan.' We, Soviet economists, convinced of the regulating power of the plan, sometimes appear to say the opposite: 'plan instead of price.' In our view, however, the only proper solution of this problem is the purposeful combination of plan with price" (KOMMUNIST, No 5, 1964, p 80). The problem discussed by V. S. Nemchinov remains relevant.

#### IV

The systematic orientation of production collectives toward improving quality parameters in economic activities must be already ensured at the planning stage. Combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with socialist production organization makes entirely realistic today the task of developing the most efficient and optimal plans for national economic development. Work on optimizing planning has long been under way in our country.

The multiple-stage process of such optimizing, naturally, should begin on the national economic level. It is at that stage that the growth rates of material production, the end product and the national income are defined. In the course of the elaboration of the intersectorial balance it becomes possible to compute the ratios and to balance consumption and production volumes. Optimal sectorial plans enable us, in turn, to determine the most efficient sizes of enterprises, level of production costs, volume of capital investments and amount of transportation outlays and to establish the most efficient variants for the location of production facilities and formulate a basic delivery system.

The optimal plan of an enterprise or association must ensure, above all, the production of a maximal amount of high-quality goods needed by society. Maximal results should be achieved with minimal outlays. This is an axiom in socialist economic management!

Naturally, the full use of optimal planning will require time and patient scientific work and the development of a necessary technical base, the core of which is a modern fast computer. We must point out that despite the entire



complexity of problems arising in this area their solution has been delayed inadmissibly.

However, however important and complex the problem of selecting the optimal among many plan variants, this is merely half the work. It is equally important to ensure the strict implementation of this plan and to optimize the entire regimen of economic activities of enterprises and sectors.

Economic behavior is largely determined by the economic mechanism, the established rules of interaction among participants in public production and the procedure for assessing and stimulating their activities. The implementation of the party's economic and social tasks is a complex process which requires efficient rules of economic behavior, which should be considered and enacted through the economic interests of the participants in the production and construction process.

We know that a number of good stipulations and departmental instructions cover all cases of economic activities, encouraging the reduction of production costs and the capital-intensiveness and ensuring the qualitative growth of output. In practice, priority given to value quantitative indicators of production activities while the others are applied to the extent of existing possibilities.

In terms of importance, the plan indicators may be classified into estimated, confirmed and controlled by the planning organization, and actual. Defining the significance of such an indicator and classifying it into one category or another has always triggered differences. To this day no uniform viewpoint has been developed on this matter.

The production program is planned above all in terms of quantitative parameters. If such indicators are given an assessment value, which is what takes place today, in trying to reach certain quantities, coal will be mixed with rock, most of the cement will be low-grade with substantial additives, and rolled metal pieces and pipes will have significant tolerances.

The low quality of output is explained to a certain extent also with the shortcomings in the existing system of cost-accounting penalties. It is clear that producers should bear the responsibility for producing substandard and unsaleable goods. However, the cost-accounting penalties applied today are undereffective. The consumer is either insufficiently or totally unable to control the producer and the quality of output. If we ask the shoemakers, they will tell us that the low quality of the shoes is the result of the unsatisfactory quality of the leather. The leather manufacturers will mention shortcomings of the initial raw material and poor dyes. The entire production chain is poorly coordinated. We see in it the lack of real cost-accounting interest by producers in the quality of their output.

Today a plant director and its collective are perfectly familiar with the fact that it is necessary first of all to fulfill the plan and, even better, to overfulfill the quantitative plan indicators. Therefore, problems of upgrading quality are given second priority. Assignments issued on improving consumer qualities of goods are insufficiently specific and controllable.



Let us now consider the current value indicators. Gross output includes the cost of finished products and unfinished production (increase or decrease). Commodity output equals gross output minus the growth or reduced value of unfinished goods and semifinished items. Marketed goods are commodity output going outside the enterprise and paid by the customer or the marketing organization. Each of these indicators has its useful load and is necessary in the planning and accounting system. However, not a single one of them can be used with any satisfaction as an instrument in assessing economic activities.

For a long time the gross, and as of 1965, marketable and marketed goods were the main evaluation indicators of economic activity. Naturally, directors and collectives concentrate on the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan. Their first motivation is to obtain a reduced plan and greater resources. In the majority of cases, planning is based "on the level of achievements." This means that if today an enterprise or shop set a world record, tomorrow their production assignments will be increased. There have been frequent cases in economic practice in which progress enterprises have turned out in the final account among the laggards, among those who failed to fulfill their plan. Naturally, experienced directors are very familiar with the existing planning mechanism and do not allow the development of production at their enterprise to the maximally possible level but keep something in reserve.

Daily economic practices irrefutably prove that the evaluation of production activities on the basis of gross, commodity and marketed output orients our economy toward a quantitative growth and hold back quality development. Expensive materials, higher prices and excessive transportation expenditures included in the plan help to increase this unfortunate "growth." At large industrial construction projects the volume of work done is paid for and included in the implementation of the plan. Particularly unprofitable to the construction workers are the finishing operations which do not require extensive material outlays and yield low amounts of work. The unprofitability of finishing and tuning and starting operations greatly delay the completion of construction projects.

Today great hopes are placed on assessing the work of enterprises on the basis of the fulfillment of their economic contracts. Contracts concretize the plan and stipulate cost-accounting penalties for the violation of obligations. However, it is difficult to agree with the fact that their implementation may be adopted as the only total indicator in evaluating the work of enterprises and ensure a lowering of outlays and quality in developing the production process. The point is that in signing the contract the association or the enterprise will accept the production of convenient commodities to which they are used. Sufficient reasons and grounds will always be found to justify such tactics. Unquestionably, contracts can upgrade procurement discipline and the responsibility of manufacturing enterprises, for which reason contractual relations must be comprehensively developed. In themselves, however, economic contracts are unable to create direct interest in enterprises to produce quality goods, expand their variety and lower production outlays.

Development of contracts must be backed by the systematic strengthening of cost-accounting principles in production activities. With every five-year plan cost accounting and, therefore, profitability has always acted as an important tool of economic policy and socialist economic management. "Upgrade profitability, eliminate production losses and increase profits" are the requirements which the 26th CPSU Congress set for our national economy. In connection with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers July 1979 decree we mentioned, the enterprise funds, including material incentive, will be based in accordance with the stipulated norms in terms of profit percentages.

The work of the enterprises should be assessed also on the basis of the amount of the added product created in the course of the production process, naturally with the strict implementation of economic contracts and obligations.

In addition to the other steps, the more skillful utilization of this indicator in planning and assessing production activities will enable us to optimize economic behavior. It is no secret that an enterprise can show a profit by reducing variety, lowering outlays for labor safety equipment and environmental protection, raising its prices and lowering wages. Such attempts, which clash with the interests of the socialist society, must be opposed by the state through efficient control and strict administrative and economic penalties. True cost accounting, oriented toward the real satisfaction of social requirements, means that profits earned as a result of violations of the quality and variety of goods stipulated in the plans and delivery contracts should be totally excluded in determining the enterprise funds.

This year two union and three republic ministries have undertaken a large-scale experiment, the purpose of which is to increase the interest and responsibility of associations and enterprises in the formulation and implementation of plans and ensuring the fuller utilization of production reserves. Experimentally, priority has been given to the production marketing indicator based on the procurement contract. It is also stipulated that with annually stable withholding norms the amount of profit left at the disposal of enterprises and associations will directly depend on the financial results of their production and economic activities. It is hoped that this measure will be a step forward in strengthening cost-accounting relations.

The party ascribes major importance to the economic experiment conducted in five industrial sectors. This will provide a practical test of some new management elements. The results of this test will be used as a base in drafting corresponding proposals for the national economy as a whole.

The imminent question today is drafting programs for comprehensive improvement of the entire management mechanism, fully consistent with the nature of the developed socialist economy and the problems to be resolved. In addition to improving the organizational structure of management and the planning system, such a program should increase the efficiency of overall economic levers and economic mechanism incentives, including price setting, the crediting-financing system, means of assessing the results of economic activities, etc.

Improving the consumer features of the output and increasing labor efficiency and productivity are the core of the continuing development process in public production. The problem of developing quality must be resolved as a most important political and economic task.

The obstructions which have restrained the growth of efficiency and quality for a number of years must be removed. The minister, director, foreman and worker must become equally interested in replacing substandard and obsolete commodities with new good-quality items needed by the consumer. Orientation toward quality is a long-range course of development of the socialist economy.

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## INDUSTRY AND TRADE: THE PARTNERSHIP MUST BE EQUAL

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[Article by Prof Ya. Orlov]

[Text] A profound turn in the national economy in the direction of the various tasks connected with improving the well-being of the Soviet people is the strategic line in the party's economic policy at the state of developed socialism. "The ultimate aim of all of our work is to improve the life of the Soviet people," said Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at a meeting with voters. "...Both our Food Program and the program to develop the production of consumer goods and the services system, which is in the process of being elaborated, are aimed at improving the people's well-being. A great deal is now being done to expand the production of high-quality, popular commodities."

As is well-known, the 11th Five-Year Plan envisages that the production of consumer goods will outstrip the production of means of production. This course is being pursued in current plans and is yielding its results. The production of Group B products is continually growing--it increased by a factor of 2.5 during the 1965-1980 period. It is planned to increase the production of consumer goods by 46 billion rubles during the current five-year plan.

For the sake of comparison, let us note that this is more than the total output of consumer goods in 1958. Nevertheless, the population's income is growing at an even more rapid rate. Not only effective demand, but also the demands with which the population today approaches the evaluation of commodities and services, have increased.

A violation of requirements of the objective economic law of outstripping growth of labor productivity inevitably eventually exerts a negative influence upon the whole of economic life. An imbalance between the volume of commodities and services available to the population and the population's actual income gives rise, in particular, to demands that cannot be fully met by the level of production reached, and prevents the deficit, with all its ugly consequences, from being eliminated--the consequences arousing the justified dissatisfaction of the working people.



Today it is clear that in order to fulfill the established goal--to saturate the market with commodities as rapidly as possible--every branch of material production and every enterprise, irrespective of its specialization, must make its own contribution to reinforcing commodity resources.

## I

The development and improvement of trade is an inalienable condition of implementing the party's socioeconomic program which is aimed at improving the well-being of the people. Trade is responsible for determining the market's need for consumer goods. Consequently, its order is a social order in the name of the population to production; it must reflect the party's aim to constantly increase and improve popular consumption. At the same time, the degree of quality of trade is also a gauge of the extent to which the population's needs are being satisfied. Trade is called upon to actively shape industry's production program in accordance with demand, and not simply to adapt itself to what industry produces. The demands and orders made by trade are called upon to orient the manufacturers toward increasing the production of commodities and improving their quality, in order to satisfy more fully the growing demands of the Soviet people.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers' resolution "On Supplementary Measures to Improve the Population's Supply of Consumer Goods in 1983-1985" notes that the trade organizations insufficiently influence industry in the sphere of increasing production of essential products and fulfilling contractual obligations concerning the delivery of goods on time. They also permit mistakes and errors in the distribution of these goods, in the forecasting of effective demand, and in the formation of orders, are slow to organize trade in conformity with new demands made by the changing market, and fail to show flexibility in the maneuvering of commodity resources.

Many industrial enterprises continue to produce low-quality goods that do not meet contemporary demands and that are not in demand among the population, but trade accepts these goods, thus accumulating commodities which are difficult to sell, which in turn causes considerable damage to the national economy.

During 3 years of the current 5-year plan period retail trade turnover--trade's main "product"--has increased by 7 percent. At the same time, the plan for retail trade turnover during the last 2 years has not been fulfilled, and during last year alone, the debts accumulated in state and cooperative trade amounted to almost 12 billion rubles. In the course of checking fulfillment of the resolution passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on improving trade services available to the population, it was established that commodity reserves within the system of the Ministry of Trade have increased by one-third during the past 3 years, and those were above the set quota--by a factor of 4.1.

During times when the market becomes more and more saturated with consumer goods, it is natural that consumer demand for a range of goods, and goods of high quality, should sharply increase, which is by no means always taken into consideration by the industrial enterprises. The sales index, by which the

work of a plant is evaluated, is that infamous "rampart" which hides both the consumer and the commodity from view. Consequently, it is fairly often the case that the enterprise successfully fulfills its sales plan and marches the front ranks without having fulfilled its obligations concerning the delivery of goods to the shops. An industrial enterprise's failure to provide the volume, choice and quality of goods stipulated by contract also remains virtually unpunished. The product sales index lies at the basis of all evaluations--both material and moral. Consequently, the interest of the producer is "focused" precisely on this index, rather than on the needs of the consumer.

For a number of industrial branches and many enterprises, fulfillment of the delivery plan in accordance with contractual obligations has as yet not become an immutable law. During 1982 two-thirds of enterprises under the RSFSR Ministry of Light Industry failed to fulfill delivery plans in accordance with contractual obligations, as did half of the RSFSR Ministry of Forestry enterprises and one-third of the RSFSR Ministry of the Food Industry enterprises. The same picture is true of 1983: 6 out of every 10 enterprises in light industry failed to fulfill delivery plans.

The shortage of commodity resources is aggravated by the low quality and unsatisfactory choice of certain goods. As a result, the storerooms and shelves of many shops are overflowing with woolen and silk articles. There is a shortage of those articles which are necessary and in fashion, while those for which there is no demand are plentiful. A whole series of complex technical goods are literally forming a line for the buyer at the 26th Interrepublican Wholesale Fair of Cultural-Domestic Goods, due to be held in 1985.

It cannot be normal that the growth rates of the volume of production of many types of products in the light and textile industries are slowing down and lagging behind the tasks of the five-year plan. This is explained by a number of reasons. Some of these reasons are objective, but the main thing is that there are shortcomings in the economic activities of the ministries, as well as the industrial associations and enterprises.

It must be said that the trade organizations still do not fully utilize their right to implement measures of economic influence upon these enterprises manufacturing goods in breach of standards, technical conditions and contractual obligations.

Why should the trade organizations accept goods of dubious value from industry? Because they are compelled to accept them, consoling themselves with the hope that they will manage to sell something somehow. Plans set for commodity turnover in trade are very intensive and, what is more, they are by no means always backed up by commodity resources. Everything entered in production plans is automatically included in plans for covering commodity turnover. A shop has no commodity reserve that would make it possible to refuse bad products and thus fulfill the plan task for the sale of commodities to the population. Not only does it not have a reserve, but quite often it also does not have sufficient commodity cover for the commodity turnover plan,

particularly with respect to the composition and choice of consumer goods in demand.

Under these conditions it is difficult, if not impossible, for trade to dictate its will to industry in the name of the consumer. The producer still feels himself to be in a stronger and freer position than his partners. He is sure that, having produced goods that are even directly contrary to popular demand, he will be able to force them upon trade.

As a result, a discrepancy arises between commodity supply and popular demand: The consumer asks for one thing, the plant supplies another. Facts testify that many enterprises give account for groups of items without listing the items specifically, "achieving" the necessary sum for the entire sale. As a result, often it is not the producer who adapts to market demands but, on the contrary, trade and the consumer who are forced to "take" what they are offered.

The list of items set in the production plans is rather long, but the number of groups of items for clothing, footwear and other commodities is small, making it possible to fulfill the plan "wholesale." Thus, greater detailing of items in orders, in plans and in contracts is on the agenda so that the criteria of consumer demand for a certain commodity should also be the demand of trade.

As yet, the interests of industry and trade do not sufficiently overlap. The targets of the plan are the economic expression of society's demands on a particular enterprise. Hence, it is completely understandable that each concrete production unit should strive to fulfill its "own" plan and consider the orders of trade from these positions. It is totally natural that a plant or factory should strive to "confine itself" to the plan targets. The fact that they do this without always worrying about satisfying market demands is more the misfortune than the fault of the enterprises.

It is no secret that the present system of bonus awards and forming funds for providing the production collectives with material incentive is insufficiently linked up with their observance of their contractual obligations. It is clear that the fulfillment of contractual deliveries is, in fact, called upon to act as one of the main indicators of the activities of the branch ministries and the production collectives and their leaders. Failure to fulfill contractual deliveries of products must be seen as a serious violation of plan and state discipline. The system of plan targets and the forms of material stimulation must be organized in such a way that workers in every sector have an incentive to supply the consumer with the greatest possible quantity of high-quality products.

Recently, the production of a number of commodities has been growing more rapidly in terms of cost than in physical terms, the latter even decreasing in a number of cases. As a rule, when sales plans are calculated in rubles, trade and the population lose something "in kind," that is, they receive fewer items, pairs and meters of certain manufactured goods. Of course, the objective factors of growth in the average price of manufactured goods cannot be ignored. These factors also include improvement in the quality of a



particular commodity. However, this cannot serve as grounds for reducing the quantity of goods produced, including inexpensive ones. That is why it is important to enhance the role of physical indexes in plans so that the production of commodities in physical terms is one of the main indicators of the enterprises' work.

The task lies not in setting cost indexes off against physical indexes, but in planning them in unity and in indissoluble connection with one another. Calculating the fulfillment of orders given by trade, both in rubles and in kind for every item, will help to prevent the producer from dividing these orders into what is important--"advantageous"--and what is secondary--"nonadvantageous."

"The party poses the urgent problem of perfecting economic management and reorganizing the economic mechanism on a broad front," emphasized Comrade K. U. Chernenko in his speech to voters. "The main directions of this work have been determined. They are fully in accordance with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism."

It is important to combine the perfection of centralized planning, which determines the main proportions and directions of the economy's development, with the formation of a flexible, efficient system of links between production and trade, which would make it possible to effectively take into account changes in consumer demand and to react to these changes in good time. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted the resolution "On Supplementary Measures to Broaden the Rights of the Industrial Production Associations (Enterprises) in Planning and Economic Activities and to Increase Their Responsibility for the Results of Work." The perfection of plan-economic levers envisaged by the resolution, which will set the production collectives more firmly in the direction of achieving final economic results and satisfying public needs, is called upon to increase the influence of centralized management on economic activity. At the same time, the independence of enterprises and associations in the drawing up of plans and in the utilization of earned means and funds is considerably broadened, which will give new impetus to local initiative and enterprise. Additional measures have been adopted to increase material incentive and responsibility of enterprises and associations which, since the beginning of 1984, have been participants in a major economic experiment.

The delivery of goods in a selection agreed upon by both production and trade and at the prescribed times can be ensured only if all plans are perfectly balanced. The absence of this kind of balance is one of the most serious causes of stoppages in the work of different sectors of the economy.

The resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the observance of contractual obligations to deliver products to the USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply proposes adopting additional measures to perfect planning, improve the balance between production volumes and material-technical resources, and eliminate in good time the shortcomings in branch development that appear in the course of plan fulfillment. When drawing up long-term and annual plans, the formation of essential reserves of production



capacities and material-technical resources should be envisaged. It is important to elaborate proposals to increase the economic responsibility of the industrial ministries, the supply organs and the associations and enterprises for failure to fulfill delivery plans and, likewise, that of the transport organizations for failure to fulfill transportation plans. Material stimulation of the production collectives must be more closely bound up with their complete and timely fulfillment of contracts and orders.

It is important that the leading organs take the fulfillment of production and delivery plans under their control, excluding the delivery of those products produced as a result of one-sided changes in plans and, accordingly, reducing the profits and incentive funds of enterprises in breach of contractual obligations. There is no doubt that this measure would help to strengthen plan and contract discipline and that it would be in full accordance with those requirements emanating from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

In order to increase industry's responsibility for the production of commodities needed by the population, it seems expedient to permit the trade enterprises and organizations to accept on a commission basis manufactured goods which have been produced with deviations from orders (contracts), paying for these goods at their fixed retail price or with a deduction on the retail price (the amount deducted, stipulated by contract between the trade and industrial enterprises, would directly affect the results of the latter's economic activity). Economic relations between industry and trade must embody their common concern to satisfy as fully as possible the constantly growing demands of the Soviet people, and to improve production efficiency and the quality of work performed by both the industrial and the trade enterprises.

## II

The lag in the production of many consumer goods is connected with insufficient initiative and exactingness in the work of many local soviets and their planning organs. Their commissions, which control the production and delivery of consumer goods, also do not always operate efficiently.

The soviets of people's deputies and their executive organs now enjoy extensive rights. It is precisely the soviets that are called upon to act as the main force in resolving problems concerning comprehensive economic and social development in the territory within their jurisdiction. The soviets' control over plan fulfillment must become considerably more rigid, unremitting, and exacting with respect to all enterprises and organizations.

In recent years the local soviets have begun to devote more attention to the enterprises engaged in the production of consumer goods. This matter is well-organized in Moscow, Leningrad and Moscow, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Novosibirsk and other oblasts.

The initiative taken by Moscow and Sverdlovsk workers to increase the production of consumer goods still in short supply in the shops is meeting with increasing support in the country's labor collectives. For example, approximately 700 Moscow enterprises from 60 different ministries and departments are now producing various manufactured goods for the people.

Sverdlovsk workers have committed themselves to supply the retail network during the current five-year plan with consumer goods exceeding the value of the wage fund of all workers in the oblast. Today we can already say that workers in the Urals are keeping their word: The production of many commodities that were formerly transported here from other rayons in the country has been organized in the oblast. The Ural workers have given concrete form to their initiative--they have developed a special purpose program for commodity production that embraces all branches. It is not without reason that the suggestion has been made to transfer this initiative from the moral sphere to the economic and to combine two indexes in the oblast plan--the wage fund and the volume of goods produced for the population.

At the same time, people continue to send letters to the central organs concerning the policy of transporting many of the simplest commodities instead of organizing their production where they are needed. At the beginning of the current five-year plan, more than 700 household articles were reckoned to be in short supply in the Kemerovo Oblast. There were not enough curlers, hockey sticks, door hinges, plasticine and so on in the shops. Shoe polish was brought to Kuznetskiy Basseyne across two oceans and then across half the country. The leaders of the oblast organizations send dramatic messages to the union plants, they beg, they plead: Produce at least something for trade (read--the population), but the enterprises are in no hurry to respond to this appeal.

The principle of democratic centralism--the most important principle in the organization and management of a socialist economy--has nothing in common with parasitism or with striving to load the solving of all problems on the center and to conceal one's own inability to organize and lack of initiative with the center's authority.

At this point it is appropriate to recall what great significance V. I. Lenin attached to economic initiatives, local turnover and enterprise in the provinces. "Initiative, enterprise, local turnover and no cadging: Shame!" wrote Vladimir Il'ich in 1921 on the matter of the parasitical attitude of workers at the Central Directorate of the Donbass Coal Industry ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 52, p 145).

The population lives, so to speak, not vertically, but horizontally--in the cities and villages of a particular republic, kray, oblast and rayon. Consequently, local turnover, enterprise and initiative that are all aimed at increasing the production of consumer goods should be given the broadest scope, as required by the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, the November 1982, June and December 1983 and February and April 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The new USSR Constitution has broadened the rights of the soviets in the economic sphere. They must learn to exercise these rights and thereby comprehensively help to increase production, improve the quality of consumer goods, and perfect trade. The resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers on further enhancing the role of the soviets in economic construction envisages, in particular, that the councils of ministers of the autonomous

republics and the kray, oblast and okrug soviets should have up to 50 percent of the commodities, produced over and above the plan by enterprises located on the territory under their jurisdiction, placed at their disposal for sale to the population through the retail network.

The responsibility of the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, the executive committees of the kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies, and the ministries and departments for satisfying the population's effective demand for commodities is growing. It is deemed essential to ensure for this purpose closer coordination between the wage funds in the ministries and departments, and also in the territorial divisions (in the union and autonomous republics, krays and oblasts), and the volume of market commodities production. The system has been introduced into the practice of planning, under which the councils of ministers of the union republics and the USSR ministries and departments are set targets for the total volume of consumer goods per ruble of the wage fund. The aim of the adopted measures is to ensure growth in the volume of commodity production and to gain a balance between the population's income and expenditure in the territorial divisions.

The resolution recently adopted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet determines the tasks of the soviets of people's deputies, their executive and administrative organs and permanent commissions and deputies, for increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods.

It is proposed that the soviets of people's deputies elaborate and implement practical measures to ensure the growth of the production of consumer goods and an improvement in their quality at the enterprises for which they are responsible, and also that they more actively exercise their legal powers in the sphere of coordinating and controlling the activities of the associations, enterprises and organizations located on their territories and under their authority in the field of production of popular commodities. In order to increase the local soviets' interest in the growth of production of popular commodities, it is expedient to deduct more means from the turnover tax received from the sale of these commodities for the budgets of the local soviets. At present, an average of only one-quarter of these sums are at their disposal.

The materials of the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation contain a developed program for improving the utilization of the wealth of potential inherent in Soviet democracy.

### III

Growth in absolute volumes of the per capita production of consumer goods must not be considered the only criterion determining the growth of the people's well-being. It is no less important to consider and plan the consumer value of everything produced by industry. It was noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "It is not enough to perfect the system of financial remuneration for labor. The necessary quantity of goods in demand must also be produced. The standards of quality must be the very highest; no allowances can be made."

In order to radically improve the quality of goods, the very nature of relations between production and trade must be changed. Priority in determining requirements for the quality of a certain commodity still goes, one can say, to the producer, rather than to the consumer for whom the commodity is actually manufactured. The producer takes a parochial view of these requirements from the standpoint of his own convenience and his own interests. For this reason, one can come across a mass of things tolerated, as well as various references and notes, in the standards for a particular article that lower requirements for quality control. As yet, these requirements are fairly low anyway and they are frequently violated. As a result, poor-quality goods flow into the shops like a river.

The producers themselves work out the requirements for the quality of consumer goods and, frequently not without the help of the organs of the State Committee for Standards, they approve these requirements and themselves determine the economic effect of perfecting production. Naturally with such an approach there can be no effective "feedback" between production and consumption that would prevent an unsubstantiated increase in prices and increase the producers' interest in systematically improving the quality of goods.

Opportunities for the consumer to influence the producer through trade have been considerably narrowed at present, and sometimes there is no opportunity at all. Meanwhile, the consumer must definitely take an active part in determining requirements for the quality of manufactured goods. It is precisely the consumer, and not the manufacturer, who is the interested party truly able to determine a commodity's quality. That is why the requirements of the consumer should be placed in the forefront in standards--the guards of quality. In particular, requirements such as comfort in clothing or footwear, lightness and attractiveness, that is, everything highly valued by the consumer, must achieve general recognition in standards, as well as the various technical parameters of products and the technology of their production.

It is well-known how serious a task it is today to improve the reliability of domestic equipment. In real life the plants that produce domestic equipment do not guarantee its reliability, but give the consumer the right--in the form of coupons--to free repair of the apparatus. Thus, it is often the case that the repair services do not render their services to the population, but to poor workmen who rectify their defects. A considerable number of manufactured goods do not even last the guaranteed period of time.

According solely to the statistics for the Moscow Organization for Trade in Goods for Cultural Purposes, watches worth 2.5 million have been supplied to Moscow shops during the last 2 years. During pre-trading inspection control goods worth almost 200,000 rubles were rejected. To this must be added applications for repair under guarantee, plus reclamation. As a result, rejects amount to 20 percent. Briefly, every fifth article passed by the Department of Technical Control has some defect and does not last the guaranteed period.



Calculations show that today's consumer demand for watches could be completely satisfied by even half of the watch-manufacturing plants currently in operation, if their products were reliable.

From being a means of protecting the interests of the consumer, guarantees have become a means of advertisement and safe conduct for those producing reliable apparatus and equipment. The "repair" money they pay the consumer services for repairing defects basically costs them nothing: it is planned and included in the cost price of a television set, a refrigerator, and so forth. Consequently, it is all the same to a bad workman whether a piece of equipment works for a month, a year, or 5 years. The 26th CPSU Congress noted the necessity of not leaving bad workmen any loopholes for living well, while performing worthless work. It seems that the time has come to give guarantees their real meaning--a guarantee that a piece of equipment is reliable, and not a promise that it will be repaired.

It is no secret that losses from waste are high today. In 1982 the trade organizations in the Russian Federation alone exacted almost 100 million rubles in fines from the enterprises for delivering poor-quality goods. The RSFSR Chief Directorate for the State Inspection of the Quality of Goods and of Trade excluded goods to the sum of approximately 90 million rubles--the value of rejected products at wholesale prices--from the accounts given by industrial enterprises of their fulfillment of sales plans. The total profit that would have accrued on this sum was also deducted. Since a fine is calculated at one-fifth of a commodity's value, the total value of rejects entering shops and bases in the Russian Federation amounted to approximately half a billion rubles.

These are not all the losses incurred by the national economy through the production of poor-quality goods. Returning defective articles to their producer involves considerable difficulties and a vast expenditure of labor and means. For example, in just 1.5 years the trade organizations in Leningrad alone utilized 60,000 railcars, containers and parcels for this purpose. However, practically no one counts these losses.

In 1982 extreme measure which trade has at its disposal, such as introducing a special regime for accepting goods or even refusing to accept them at all, were applied to 2,300 enterprises producing articles in breach of standard requirements. The number of enterprises like these is, alas, growing no smaller. During the last 10 years it has doubled. It is clear that such a careless and irresponsible attitude to the quality of goods, which exists in a number of ministries, cannot be further tolerated.

Why does the bad workman still live such a carefree life? It is generally thought that the fines imposed by trade for underdelivery and poor-quality goods affect the economy of a negligent enterprise. However, these notions are, for the most part, illusory. Let us take a look at a giant in the footwear industry like the Skorokhod Association, which has an annual profit of approximately 30 million rubles. Its debt to trade and the consumer regarding the choice and quality of its footwear is, one can say, permanent and great. And when Skorokhod has to pay several million rubles for failing to fulfill its obligations concerning delivery contracts, it does so with

unusual ease. However paradoxical it may seem, the enterprise does not suffer in this respect and its funds remain practically untouched, since it pays the fines not out of its own pocket, but from the state's. Irresponsibility is thereby encouraged. There is no doubt that the reject curve would drop sharply if the fines were taken from the incentive funds of the enterprise's bad workmen. Those responsible for slipshod work must definitely bear full responsibility.

In this respect the first experiment has already been carried out. A group of workers from the Leningrad Soyuz Association had to pay for the production of reject products out of their own pockets. They were made materially responsible at the request of the city procurator's office. After an inspection the names were given of those to blame for poor-quality ballpoint pens and fountain pens appearing on shop counters.

Documents which determine the system of forming and utilizing material incentive funds state that for every percent of poor-quality products returned to an enterprise, it loses 3 percent of the quarterly deductions for this fund. It would seem that a more effective measure cannot be thought of, but this is purely theoretical.

This is what becomes of a measure, reasonable in itself, in practice rather than on paper. Practice testifies to the fact that every spot check of a consignment of clothing, footwear and textiles ends in rejecting 10 to 20 percent, if not more, of manufactured goods. But this does not affect the bonus of the production collective. The fact of the matter is that the producer does not look at the amount of so-called rejects through the ordinary end of his binoculars, but through the wrong end, which considerably diminishes the amount of reject products. The manufacturer only applies the aforementioned percentages to the selection which has been checked, and not to the total volume of goods produced. With such a mode of reckoning, the total amount of rejects amounts to tenths or even hundredths of a percent. This cunning way of reckoning makes it possible for the enterprise to claim that it has virtually no rejects and that the proportion of rejects is insignificant. Gross production defects are delicately termed..."deviations from standard."

It is clear that it is both impossible and inexpedient to check the quality of all goods in trade. However, everything will fall into place if the results of checks on the quality of goods are applied not just to the quantity checked, but to the total volume produced. The results of a spot check should be extended to the whole consignment of goods received by the trade network, which is what is done everywhere else in the world.

#### IV

The trade barometer shows considerable underdeliveries by industry of commodities stipulated in the plan, and a corresponding shortage of a number of manufactured goods, on the one hand, with an increase in the quantity of commodities termed "difficult to sell" and also an increase in stocks of commodities, on the other. These include jewelry, carpets, crystal and obsolete refrigerators, television sets and radios.

A fundamental discrepancy between the choice of commodities supplied by industry and the orders placed by trade and popular demand, and also between the quality of these commodities and consumer demand can be seen, as they say, with the naked eye. Commodities which are not in demand build up in the trade network and a significant proportion of these commodities are manufactured by enterprises in light industry.

A glut is sometimes "treated" by marking down prices. The timely marking down of prices returns unmarketable commodities to "life", and their consumer value is not as greatly reduced as when commodities are stored for a long period. Thus the demands of various strata of the population are more fully satisfied. A common truth of trade is that when a commodity "is selling," even as a result of the price being marked down, losses are not very great, but if a commodity lies without moving for years, losses snowball.

Above-norm commodity stocks in retail trade were evaluated at 3.7 billion rubles on 1 October 1983. At the same time, stocks of basic footstuffs in the trade network were found to be below the norm, as were those of cotton and linen textiles, articles manufactured from these textiles, leather and rubber footwear, stockings and socks.

It is not only in the interests of trade, but also in the interests of society as a whole that more effective use be made of discount funds for direct purposes to save as much money as possible. It is normal and expedient practice to mark down prices and sell off goods which have partially lost their original quality. It is the cost of progress and the result of the appearance of new manufactured articles, the saturation of the market with commodities, and the growth of prosperity of the Soviet people. At the same time it is also the absolution of industry and trade's "sins."

Since 1 September 1983 a seasonal sale of goods at reduced prices has been held within the retail network of state and cooperative trade. The sale includes a broad range of goods manufactured in light industry and also cultural-domestic goods and household articles to a total value of 3 billion rubles. The means for this are allotted from the state budget at the rate of 1.5 billion rubles, and are fully utilized.

It was decided at the end of last year to establish a regular markdown of prices (in February-April--goods from the autumn-winter period, and in August-October--goods from the spring-summer period) with the aim of speeding up the sale of goods and preventing the accumulation of stocks of unmarketable articles in the trade network. Resolving the problem of marking down seasonal goods should be decentralized and passed over to the trade organizations (the trade directorates and the trade organizations on an equal footing with them). In this respect, it is important that the means subject to deduction for discount funds be left at the disposal of the trade organizations, and that the means left over from the current year be left in their entirety for the following year. When fixing retail prices for new commodities, deductions by the trade organizations at a rate of 1.5-2 percent are envisaged in the structure of these prices. These deductions are allocated for the marking down of seasonal and obsolescent, out-of-date commodities.

It does not follow from what has been said, of course, that marking down prices is a universal means and the sole and most effective lever for ensuring a balance between supply and demand. The marking down of prices is only a kind of medicine which, like any medicine, should be used in moderation. The production of unmarketable commodities can and must be prevented by switching factories and plants over to the production of goods in popular demand. Production is the main link which, once taken hold of, can and must ensure harmony between the supply of commodities and services and the demand for them.

The USSR State Planning Committee has been set the task by the CPSU Central Committee's and the USSR Council of Ministers' resolution "On Additional Measures To Improve the Population's Supply of Consumer Goods in 1983-85" of envisaging growth in commodity supply and in the services sphere in such a way as to meet not only the current income of the population, but also future demand for a series of commodities when drawing up the Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development for 1986-1990.

The session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at which the question of drawing up the Comprehensive Program for Developing the Production of Consumer Goods and the System of Public Services was discussed, noted the urgent necessity to raise the production of consumer goods to a qualitatively new level on the basis of extensively utilizing contemporary equipment and technology.

Requirements taking the latest achievements of scientific-technical progress into account must be introduced into standards so that shops can be supplied with only high-quality goods corresponding to the best contemporary models. The resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Speed Up Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy" notes that the USSR State Committee for Standards must increase exactingness toward the ministries and departments concerning the quality of work and the strict observance of standards, as well as tighten control over the quality of goods produced.

The CPSU Central Committee has approved the initiative of front-rank collectives that have called for a development of socialist competition to increase the production of high-quality consumer goods that conform to the best contemporary models. The initiative of innovators has found active support everywhere.

Providing the people with more high-quality goods that meet ever-increasing consumer demands--this is what a businesslike partnership between the production and trade collectives should be aimed at today. This is precisely the task set by the party and precisely the aim of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

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## MODERN GEOLOGY--A SCIENCE OF NEW TASKS AND OPPORTUNITIES

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[Article by A. Yanshin, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president, and L. Golovanov, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] At the beginning of August the capital of our homeland will welcome as its guests geologists the world over, attending the scientific session of the 27th International Geological Congress.

The first such congress was held more than a century ago (in 1878) in Paris; since then, every 3-4 years (with the exception of the tragic periods of the two world wars) geologists in all fields have regularly met to sum up the results of their work and exchange views on vital problems of theoretical and practical activity.

From the very first sessions of these international geological congresses, the Russian scientists have played an important role, strengthening friendly relations, promoting the progress of this basic branch of the natural sciences and, particularly, standardizing geological maps and terminology and, today, globalizing research on the planet as a space body on which a most unique phenomenon in visible space--mankind--is developing in accordance with specific laws.

As to strictly "earthly" problems, let us point out that no single economic sector can avoid the use of natural ground resources and, therefore, do without the results of geological efforts. Awareness of their responsibility for the fate of resources in terms of the economy of their countries and the future of the planet's population as a whole, has been the motive force of the purposeful efforts of all those who work in the earth sciences. At its 26th Congress the Communist Party set the Soviet specialists the task of ensuring the accelerated geological study of USSR territory and to increase the amount of proven reserves of mineral and raw material resources, fuel above all. In the current five-year plan the efforts of Soviet geologists are aimed at identifying petroleum and natural gas areas in Western and Eastern Siberia, the European part of the USSR, Central Asia, the Kazakh SSR and the continental shelf. The raw material base of mining enterprises is broadening, particularly in areas where territorial-production complexes are being established. Research and surveys of deposits of rich and easy-to-concentrate

ores of ferrous and nonferrous metals, bauxites, phosphorites, coal, oil shale and raw materials for nuclear power and the production of construction materials and chemical fertilizers and studies and surveys of groundwater reserves are intensifying.

The fact that this is the third time when our country was chosen as the seat of such an international forum (the previous two occasions were in 1897 and 1937) is no accident. On the one hand, it is a manifestation of the universal respect for the accomplishments of our scientists, who have made a tremendous contribution to the development of world geology. Universal recognition has been granted to the works of A. P. Karpinskiy, F. N. Chernyshev, S. N. Nikitin, N. A. Sokolov, A. P. Pavlov, I. V. Mushketov, V. I. Vernadskiy, Ye. S. Fedorov, A. D. Arkhangel'skiy, N. S. Shatskiy, A. A. Borisyak, F. Yu. Levinson-Lessing, A. N. Zavaritskiy, A. Ye. Fersman, I. M. Gubkin, V. A. Obruchev, D. V. Nalivkin and others. On the other hand, professional interest shown in the territory of the Soviet Union is entirely understandable (an area of 22.4 million square kilometers, covering nearly one-sixth of the habitable land) with its extensive set of structural and essential heterogeneities of a planetary nature and scale. This includes the largest ancient (Siberian and lower part of the Eastern European or Russian) and young (West Siberian and Turanian) plateaus, the Ural-Mongolian, Mediterranean and Pacific shifting areas of different types and age and, in the East, the seas with their peninsulas and island arcs and shelf zones. All of this has greatly favored the development of widescale geological research and is today contributing to the direct participation of Soviet researchers in resolving all of the most important problems of the earth's science.

Lenin's famous "sketch of a plan for scientific and technical work," dated April 1918, drew attention to the activities of the Academy of Sciences, "which has initiated the systematic study and research of Russian natural production forces" and which recommended to the Higher Council of the National Economy to assign to the scientists the establishment of a number of commissions "for the fastest possible formulation of a plan for the reorganization of Russia's industry and economic upsurge" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 228), which applied to the rational placement of industry, bringing it closer to raw material sources and implementing a number of steps to enhance the country's economic potential. In speaking of the socialist changes in our society we cannot fail to mention the direct participation of Soviet geologists: the purposeful development of an unusually extensive front of geological studies was a prerequisite for the economic and cultural development of a huge territory. The Commission for the Study of Natural Production Forces in Russia (KEPS), which was formed on V. Vernadskiy's initiative even before the October Revolution (in 1915) pioneered this offensive. In accordance with the party's course of industrialization, followed by the directives on the formulation of a five-year plan for the development of the national economy, which was ratified by the 15th VKP(b) Congress in December 1927, the domestic geological service and its central and peripheral organizations were radically reorganized. Large-scale long-term planning of extensive research and geological survey operations and intensive expedition and scientific research projects were undertaken. The entire matter of geological surveys acquired a pace which considerably outstripped the development of industry, in order to be able to supply it with the

necessary raw materials and at the proper time. Basically new academic institutions were organized at the beginning of the 1930s: the Geological, Paleontological and Petrographic institutes and the Institute of Geochemistry, Mineralogy and Crystallography imeni M. V. Lomonosov (LIGEM). Following the transfer of the USSR Academy of Sciences to Moscow in 1934, in accordance with a Sovnarkom decree these institutes gained a new development impetus. They became the foundations for the future network of a nationwide geological, geochemical and geophysical scientific organization. At the same time, the All-Union Geological Surveying Service was developed; new organizations were established, improved and restructured in accordance with social requirements. Thanks to this, the study of the geological structure of USSR territory and its minerals expanded and intensified at a pace unmatched by any other country. Within a relatively short time geological surveys actually eliminated all blank spots on the map of our homeland.

The limitations of this article do not permit us to enumerate all outstanding discoveries of mineral deposits, new coal- and oil-bearing basins and ore-bearing areas, which were made during the first five-year plans.

The first consolidated geological map of the Soviet Union on a 1:5,000,000 scale was presented to the participants of the 17th session of the International Geological Congress, which was held in Moscow in 1937. It was drafted by the Central Scientific Research Geological Survey Institute (today the VSEGEI), with D. V. Nalivkin as its editor and with the participation of other geological organizations. This map was a graphic summation of data acquired during the first 20 years since the Great October Revolution.

At the present congress the participants will be shown a new consolidated geological map of the Soviet Union on a scale of 1:2,500,000, i.e., a much more detailed one. The map was published in 1940, 1956, 1965 and 1982 as the result of geological surveys of the country during the various stages in the development of geological survey operations; comparisons among these maps clearly show the progress made in the study of the geological structure of our homeland. Thus, the latest edition of the consolidated map clearly reflects the geological structure not only of the land but of the adjacent water areas, including information obtained through space technology.

Academician A. A. Borisyak described the map as the "crowning of geological research." This is a just opinion. It is not astounding that the extensive topical geological mapping of our country is ascribed great significance and that problems of its further development and improvement are among the most important scientific trends. Achievements on this level have been invariably highly rated at international exhibits. In recent years series (sets) of geological maps on the same scale have been published in our country, covering one territory or another. The most extensive among them are the "Atlas of Geological and Geophysical Maps" on a 1:10,000,000 scale; a set of maps of the Baykal-Amur area on a 1:1,500,000 scale and the Soviet Baltic area on a scale of 1:500,000. Maps of geological and quaternary (i.e., of the latest period in the historical development of the earth) formations, tectonic maps (based on different principles), faults and magma and precipitation formation maps, a metallogenic map and a map of mineral forecasts have been charted on a 1:2,500,000 scale, covering the entire territory of the USSR.

Extensive experience enables Soviet specialists in this field, with the participation of geologists from other countries, to chart geological and other maps of the shifting of the Pacific Ocean belt and the Pacific Ocean, the northern polar area of the earth, Africa and South America. The first "geological globe," 85 centimeters in diameter (i.e., on a scale of 1:15,000,000) was created in 1973. The geological institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Ministry of Geology are most closely involved in such activities, which are frequently unique in terms of the depth of their comprehensive treatment. The ministry determines the basic trends in mapping and survey operations and ensures their coordination and determines standard mapping scales. The implementation of a program for the study of USSR territory on a scale of 1:1,000,000, which was completed in 1961, was an important event in the study of the geological structure. Currently a medium-scale (1:200,000) geological mapping of the Soviet Union is nearing completion and systematic large-scale geological survey operations have been undertaken with the creation of a state geological map on a 1:50,000 scale. This marks a qualitatively new stage in the regional study of the geological structure of our territory and mineral resources. This long-term project will be the base for further fundamental summations. One-third of the country's entire territory, covering virtually all the most promising ore-containing areas, has already been mapped on this scale.

Along with mapping, geological materials are being summed up and systematically acquired. Multiple-volume monographs are being published such as "USSR Geology," "USSR Geological Structure," "USSR Hydrogeology," "USSR Ore Deposits," "USSR Engineering Geology," "Foundations of Paleontology," etc. Two volumes of the multiple-volume work "Geological Structure of the USSR and Laws Governing the Distribution of Minerals" were recently published. A major publication entitled "USSR Stratigraphy" is about to be published. All of this mirrors the progress of Soviet earth science. Such works are known the world over and are helping to resolve a number of vital scientific problems.

The contemporary condition of geological studies is characterized by a number of features determined by achievements in geology itself, whose theoretical level and volume of acquired factual data have inordinately increased in recent decades, as well as overall scientific and technical progress, which has opened to geology new and in a number of cases very powerful opportunities. Furthermore, a rapprochement among the main trends of geological research conducted in different countries is taking place. This is largely assisted by the activities of the International Association of Geological Sciences and related associations, the formulation and implementation of international scientific programs in the field of geology and the increased amount and efficiency of exchanges of geological information among individual countries.

It would be pertinent to emphasize above all the global coverage of various studies of an object of geological knowledge--the lithosphere. In the words of V. I. Vernadskiy, "this radically changed our geological understanding of the world. Furthermore, we clearly saw within our topic the cosmic body, many of whose internal laws cannot be understood without understanding the planet as a whole, in the unity of all its components and all its internal and



external (i.e., cosmic) relations. Life itself on the planet, the entire surface imbued with active organic substances known as the biosphere, is henceforth considered not an 'area of matter alone' but an 'area of energy,' source of planetary changes caused by external cosmic forces" (V. I. Vernadskiy, "Izbr. Soch." [Selected Works], vol V, USSR Academy of Sciences Press, Moscow, 1960, p 11). "It changes and largely determines the aspect of the earth. It is not only a reflection of our planet and a manifestation of its substances and its energy but also the creation of external space forces" (ibid.).

Thanks to the successes of cosmonautics, the earth appeared to us in the universe in a new aspect of structural concentrations, blocks and faults. Drillers were supplied with entirely new data--photographs of the earth's surface taken from outer space, showing the major features in the structure of the planet's crust, unnoticeable in surface work and even in aerial photographs. Today outer space surveys hold a position of honor in the arsenal of ways and means of remote sounding of the earth. Science owes to them the birth of a new discipline--space geology--which considerably enriched the methodology of our research and encouraged us largely to review concepts of geological structures and the patterns of mineral deposits on large segments of the earth's crust.

The successes achieved in outer space surveys were reflected in the mapping of a number of specialized space-geological maps which broadened the content of global geological cartography. The space geology map of the USSR on a 1:2,500,000 scale, charted on the basis of photographs from Soviet earth satellites of the Kosmos and Meteor type and observations from manned space ships and orbital stations, which will be exhibited at the Geoexpo-84 Congress in Moscow will be a new entry in geological survey practices.

Currently the cosmonauts aboard the Salyut-7--Soyuz T-11--Soyuz T-12 complex are working on a complex scientific program which includes among other things photographing the earth's surface by request of the geologists. They are using the MKF-6M apparatus, which was developed jointly by Soviet and GDR specialists. The photographs taken with this camera provide, first of all, a high geometric resolution which allows extensive optical and photographic enlargement; secondly, it allows for the synthesis of the images which, in turn, allows us to obtain a clearer color differentiation of geological sites and their boundaries compared to the initial photographs.

The distinction between the spectral characteristics of the photographed objects in various channels offers prerequisites for identifying in the multiple-zone photographs depictions of complexes of rocks, known as formations, and for looking for targets based on a specific standard, of interest to geologists. As described in the press, examples of the solution of such problems have been the discovery of new kimberlite tubes on the Siberian plateau.

An important advantage of the photographs obtained with this instrument is the increased depth of images obtained of the first and second channels of the survey in the photographing of the sea bottom. This is very valuable in the geological study of the sea shelf.

The results of the space and aerial photographs are checked on the ground, in the areas corresponding to the detected linear and circular formations. Samples are collected, the magnetic and electric properties of the rocks and their moisture and density are analyzed, the thickness of the physical fields are determined, wells are drilled and heavy concentrations are shaded. Such work is frequently done quickly. Such was the case, when cosmonauts L. Popov and V. Ryumin discovered from Salyut-6 previously undetected circular structures around the Caspian Sea and faults in Central Kazakhstan. This information is now used in regional forecasting of ore deposits and in looking for new petroleum deposits..

Another major trend in contemporary geology, to which we add the word "space," is the study of planets. A quarter of a century ago, on the basis of astronomical data, the talented Leningrad geologist A. V. Khabakov charted a comparative-geological map of the visible surface of the moon. At that time this was something of a daring scientific event and we could only dream of lunar geology (or rather Selenology). Today we have reliable data on the structure and age of the rocks on the moon, Mars and Venus and the structure of their surface, and on the atmosphere of Mars and Venus. We have not found on earth rocks older than 3.8 billion years (although it and its solar system "sisters" were formed approximately 4.6-4.7 billion years ago), for they have undergone a substantial transformation or are buried so deep underground as to be totally inaccessible. For this reason the moon and the earth-group planets are important sources of information on the early stages of the development of the cradle of our life. Thanks to the progress of cosmonautics, their study has enabled us to reach essentially new conclusions and formulate new hypotheses on the origin and initial stages of development of these space bodies in the solar system. All of this led to the appearance of a new field of knowledge which G. L. Pospelov named comparative planetology as early as 1956. Unwittingly we recall the words of V. I. Vernadskiy: "The matter of the universe, and not of our galaxy alone, is one and the same. The laws which it obeys are universal. Therefore, geochemistry clearly exceeds the limits of the geological sciences and its part of chemistry or, rather, part of the science which has been developing under our very eyes in the 19th and, particularly, the 20th century--space chemistry.... This aspect of geological phenomena, new to the geologists, studied by geochemistry, assumes basic significance in geology and derives its laws from the laws governing the planetary system" (V. I. Vernadskiy, "Khimicheskoye Stroyeniye Biosfery Zemli i Yeye Okruzheniya" [Chemical Structure of the Earth's Biosphere and Its Surrounding Area]. Nauka, Moscow, 1965, p 47).

The possibility of directly studying the structure and composition of distant planets with space technology brings us closer to resolving a basic problem in the natural sciences--clarifying the origin of the solar system and its evolution and thus achieving a more profound understanding of the structure and geological history of earth.

Naturally, the unraveling of such secrets which affect all mankind will help to resolve most of our practical problems.

An important feature in the contemporary stage of geology is the attention paid by its specialists to the world's oceans with a view to studying the laws governing the composition, structure and development of the oceanic bottom and the assessment of the mineral resources within it. Until that point geology had been a science only of continents and islands, whose overall area accounts for no more than 29 percent of our planet's surface. In the course of 2.5 decades there has literally been a discovery of a previously unknown "earth" covering more than two-thirds of the planet's surface.

Today the various aspects of marine geology are extensively discussed at international congresses. Interest in such problems is growing as a result of the discovery of various minerals at the bottom of the ocean. However, from the viewpoint of science the main thing is that we cannot imagine the geology of the future and all its major problems without resolving the question of the formation of the world's oceans and their development. The efforts of specialists from many countries are concentrated on resolving such problems. Corresponding geophysical and geochemical methods are being improved and considerable progress has been achieved in developing the necessary equipment, means of processing data and navigation reference of observations. Particularly substantial accomplishments have been achieved in the area of seismic surveys with the help of which the basins of shelf zones may be studied along the entire thickness of the deposits. Highly productive seismic work has become not only the base for tectonic elaborations but are used in breaking down, comparing and linking deposits.

It has been established that the shelves are not passive submerged continental outlying areas but specific transitional zones--so-called end (border-continental) slabs, whose specific development has determined a number of their structural characteristics. Soviet researchers found differences in the structure and composition of the shelf zones of passive and active tectonic borders. The studies conducted made it possible to classify the shelf sedimentary basins. These results were reflected in the latest geological map of the USSR.

The establishment of the laws governing the dissemination and characteristics of the composition of iron and manganese concretions in the world's oceans is a very important result of the many years of work by Soviet and foreign researchers. The main areas of higher concretion productivity and areas in which concretions are enriched with nonferrous metals have been surveyed and mapped. The broadest areas containing iron and manganese concretions are in the open sea in the equatorial area of the Pacific Ocean, in belts of radiolaria ooze (silt enriched with radiolaria skeletons--microscopic plankton organisms of the Rhizopoda class). Such multicomponent manganese ores in the ocean are definitely considered the minerals of the not-so-distant future.

Off-shore petroleum extraction is developing intensively. A string of oil rigs is stretching along the northern shores of Alaska and along the coast of California, Ecuador, Peru and western Australia and over large areas in the Caspian and North seas and in the Persian and Mexican gulfs. In 1983 nearly one-third of the world's oil and natural gas came from off-shore drills.

The contemporary condition of geology is defined by the scientific and technical changes which have taken place over the past 20-30 years in the means used to study rocks, minerals and ores. The development of the electron microscope and its scanner, improvements in methods of X-ray-structural and nuclear absorption analysis, the creation of microanalyzers, the development of the isotope chemical analysis, the extensive use of mass spectrographs which replaced "wet" analytical chemistry and many other innovations and improvements enriched the science of geology with essentially new data which are helping us to understand many previously unclear processes of weathering, transfer, deposits, diagenesis (i.e., transformation of deposits into rock, from the Latin "diagenesis"--degeneration), epigenesis (secondary changes and new rock formations), metamorphism (rock transformation under high-pressure and temperature conditions) and many other processes resulting in the development of minerals.

Experimentation has become widespread in contemporary geology.

The primitive modeling of tectonic structures was undertaken as early as the 19th century. Today, however, purposeful experiments are being conducted which reproduce natural phenomena and processes. For the first time minerals were synthesized and rocks were subjected to deformation under conditions of very high pressures and temperatures similar to those which could be expected deep within the earth and on its surface, were practiced in our country, the United States and Australia. Some of the results of such experiments were the production of artificial diamonds, rubies, opals and proustite.

The development of computers made possible experiments of a special kind--the so-called computer experiments. Academician A. A. Samarskiy is a warm supporter of such experiments in our country. The experiments require the participation of scientists in different fields, above all those specialized in this specific area, very familiar with mathematics, specialists in digital methods and programmers. They built mathematical models with the help of respective equations with coefficients which characterize the studied projects and their environment, program likely ways in which these projects function in the course of their interreaction with the environment and follow this with the necessary work with computers. Computer experiments are a means of scientific forecasting and determining the behavior and development of complex (geological, geophysical, geochemical) systems in different conditions. Let us note that such problems are very difficult to resolve because of the nonlinear nature of actual processes. A nonlinear nature means that the behavior of some parts are no indication of the behavior of the whole, for which reason experience and intuition frequently prove to be insufficient in terms of accurately forecasting the future of the studied system. Computers enable us to study mathematical models of nonlinear problems in sufficient detail. The program of the 27th Geological Congress stipulates the work of a special section on mathematical geology and geological information. A number of interesting reports will be submitted. One of the papers to be presented (W. Schwarzacher, Northern Ireland) will show, on the basis of studies of models of induced cyclical sedimentation, that fluctuations in sedimentations in the earth's crust may be correlated with variations in the earth's trajectory around the sun.



Only 30 years ago we could say that the ordinary geological hammer and the professional perception of the geologist in the field and the results of laboratory analyses constituted the foundation of all of our research. However, we have entered the age of a new relationship with the subsoil--the age of the study, survey and utilization of minerals without outcrops or undetectable with traditional field observations, such as iron ores in the areas of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly and Kustanay Oblast, petroleum in Western Siberia, potassium salts in Irkutsk Oblast, etc. Therefore, the very object of research and, with it, the nature of the geological problems have undergone decisive changes. This has been consistently reflected in the communist party's directives. The stipulations of the directives of the 23rd CPSU Congress on the five-year plan for the development of the national economy between 1966 and 1970 called for "expanding scientific work on the study of the earth's crust and the laws governing the location of mineral deposits for the sake of making better use of natural resources." "Research in geology, geophysics and geochemistry in order to determine the laws governing the location of minerals and upgrading the efficiency of the methods used in their prospecting, extraction and concentration" were stipulations in the directives of the 24th Congress for the subsequent five-year plan. "Expanding the study of the earth's crust and the upper cover of the earth with a view to studying the processes of formation and the laws governing the distribution of mineral deposits" was included in the Basic Directions in the Development of the National Economy, ratified at the 25th Congress. Finally, the 26th Party Congress called for the "study of the structure, composition and evolution of the earth, the biosphere, the climate and the world's oceans, including the shelves..."

As of today the research front is increasingly advancing toward the north and the east, reaching less accessible areas, the task of identifying mineral deposits is becoming even more difficult and the amount of monetary and material outlays for surveys and extraction are increasing drastically (sometimes by a factor of 5-10). Let us mention a few indicators showing the increased cost of the process of increasing proven petroleum and natural gas reserves: between 1965 and 1983 average drilling depth increased from 2,195 to 2,788 meters and the cost per meter of well-drilling by 56 percent; the cost per linear meter of surveyed section increased by 51.8 percent between 1975 and 1980 and the cost per meter of comprehensive geophysical studies per surveyed drill increased by 18 percent; the share of small deposits containing less than 1 million tons per square kilometer reached 52 percent (based on a report submitted at the 27th International Geological Congress by G. A. Gabrielyants, Ye. V. Karus and O. L. Kuznetsov). Such increases are largely related to the need to use one-of-a-kind measuring and computer equipment and the conversion to contemporary methods for conducting field operations, based on recurrent overlap systems and drastically more complex algorithms of processing measurement results. Further progress in our searches increasingly depends on the extent to which we use the mathematical apparatus. Its importance in summing up the tremendous volumes of observation data (the volume of which has become inordinately enlarged of late), in identifying areas which are promising in terms of one mineral or another and for subsequent experimental drilling to test hypotheses is obvious.

However, in order to ensure the truly efficient utilization of the new possibilities the very style of this utilization must be changed. We cannot rely on traditional approaches and methods. A great deal must be improved in our ways of work. Geology is experiencing a similar type of scientific and technical revolution as the other fields of knowledge and practice. This has originated new survey concepts which change the methodology of looking for minerals.

According to the specialists, in the past 5 years more new theoretical concepts on the earth sciences have been formulated than in the preceding 50 years. These concepts have made it possible for petroleum surveyors to concentrate not only on structural traps which were the main targets of research for hydrocarbons in the past but also those related to disparities in rock seams, sand deposits from ancient riverbeds and other hard-to-detect traps.

M. Halbuti, the American specialist in energy resources, is firmly convinced that on a global scale at least as much petroleum and considerably more natural gas than are known to exist today will be discovered. "I also believe," he writes in his paper "New and Promising Oil and Gas-Bearing Areas and Deposits in the World," which was presented to the International Geological Congress in Moscow, "that we are limited only by insufficient imagination, innovation, resolve and technology. In the course of this decade a tremendous shift will occur in all sciences, petroleum geology, geophysics and oil extraction technology in particular. Whether we are geologists, petroleum engineers, independent surveyors or surveyors working for companies or governments, the problem facing us is to continue to make use of all available knowledge in detecting petroleum and gas deposits on which the world's existence depends so heavily."

Geology is a basic natural history science. That is why determining the sequence and scale of subordination of the structures in the earth's crust since the time the geochronological framework was created for tectonic, metallogenic, paleogeographic and other formations is of prime importance for the successful solution of a number of major theoretical and practical problems.

As we know, the development of the radiometric determination of the absolute age of rocks and most important geological processes (magmatic above all) marked a qualitatively new stage in stratigraphy and opened entirely new opportunities in studying the procedure of depositing and interrelationship between strata and seams of alluvial and volcanic rocks and the temporal patterns of mineral concentrations. In recent years the arsenal of geochronological tools (chronostratigraphy) have been expanded. In addition to the potassium-argon method, which has been used for some time, the rubidium-strontium and the samarium-(neodimovyy) methods have now become firmly established. Although complex, they enable us to make more reliable and refined measurements.

The most important thing is to establish the stratigraphy of Precambrian deposits (older than 570 million years), on the basis of remnants of large or microscopic algae and remnants of nonskeletal fauna. The achievements of

Soviet scientists in this area are already being used in the study of Precambrian deposits in Australia, India, Morocco and many other countries. The stratigraphic scale which reflects the most important historical-geological laws in the development of the earth's crust has been considerably refined and expanded. The most important recent achievements in Soviet stratigraphy are the formulation and publication of zonal scales for the Ordovician, Silurian, Carboniferous, Triassic, Jurassic and Cretaceous periods. These scales are used throughout the territory of the Soviet Union and could be used to refine the standard scale used throughout the world.

Geophysical research is intensively developing at present. It is based on scientific data on physical processes and related phenomena occurring within the solid, liquid and gaseous earth crusts. Such works provide information on the earth's grounds at depths inaccessible to direct penetration. The study of gravitational, electric, magnetic and heat fields, and the elasticity and radioactiveness of rocks is combined with geological, petrophysical, geochemical and other methods. The results show up as maps, charts and mathematical descriptions. It is precisely the close combination of geology with geophysics that is a characteristic feature of contemporary surveys of minerals and the determination of the structure and dynamics of the deep areas of the earth's crust and mantle and the study not only of the structures but the material composition of geological sites and their thermodynamic condition. The framework of such activities has been widened to include problems of physics of the planet in their interconnection with the basic problems of contemporary geotectonics, petrology and vulcanology on a regional scale and from the point of view of basic concepts relative to the ways of development of the earth.

Incidentally, the more detailed our information on the geological history of the planet becomes, the clearer it becomes that the processes governing the development of continents and the world's oceans have evolved. Let us note that until the mid-20th century virtually all geologists in the world shared the views of the famous British scientists Charles Lyell (1797-1875). He believed that only those processes currently taking place had always occurred on the earth's surface and within the earth's crust and always at the same speed. To the honor of Soviet science, it was precisely our geologists who were the first radically to revise this concept thanks to the use of dialectical-materialistic methodology. The resolutions of the first All-Union Lithological Conference, which was held in November 1952, noted, after the results of the discussions were summed up, that Lyell's principle was unfounded, for it conflicted both with the laws governing the development of natural phenomena and with a tremendous number of facts. It also noted that the processes of wind erosion and rock formation through precipitation unquestionably changed in time under the influence of changes in the structure of the atmosphere and the hydrosphere, as well as under the influence of the development of the organic world on the planet. Today this concept has been accepted virtually everywhere and mineralogists, geochemists, tectonists and vulcanologists structure their scientific views on this basis, both in our country and abroad.

Therefore, the geological picture of our world is an exceptionally complex and steadily self-renovating tectonic process which covers the structure of the

earth's crust and the upper mantle and influences the hydrosphere, the atmosphere and the biosphere. A great deal remains to be clarified within them and in their interactions as well as in their links with influences from outer space.

The expansion of the science of geology with entirely new information on the structure, processes and condition of matter at the bottom of the world's oceans and the new and chronologically quite extensive penetration into the history of the earth's magnetic field and most accurate geodetic observations with the help of satellites have resulted in the radical revision of habitual geodynamic concepts. This has inevitably affected concepts relative to the earth's shell structure and dynamics.

A variety of tectonic studies have been conducted in our country. Many of their results have earned worldwide recognition. One of the important achievements in geotectonics is the discovery and substantiation of the stratified-block heterogeneity of the lithosphere. The blocks which were identified at the base of the East European and Siberian plateaus and in other parts of the country are ancient large elements of the earth's crust, limited by deep fault structures and possessing specific processes in forming precipices and rock deposits, magmatism and mineral formations. The result of the study of large faults of the earth's crust, going deep into the earth and of great length and width led to the creation of a union map of faults (on a 1:2,500,000 scale) in which, for the first time, a comprehensive characterization of faults and their correlation with other geological structures in space and time are displayed.

The authors of the tectonic map of northern Eurasia (on a scale of 1:5,000,000) (1980) relied on the new principles of tectonic research reflecting the time of the formation of the continental crust over large areas. The process of establishment of geological regions was considered here as complex and proceeding in stages, including the oceanic, transitional and continental stages.

A great deal of essentially new data on the deep structure of the earth's crust in the continental part of the land and the adjacent water areas has been acquired on the basis of comprehensive and geological-geophysical studies of the territory of the Soviet Union, conducted over the past 20 years. Along with the ever increased amounts of seismic sounding, gravimetry, magnetometry, electrometry and other methods for finding physical fields, combined with petrographic studies, have played an important role in these activities.

The results of the implementation of the comprehensive program for the study of the composition and physical properties of rocks brought to the surface as a result of superdeep drilling in the Kola and Saatly areas have been of exceptional importance. The plan calls for the establishment of a framework of new superdeep (12-15 kilometers) and deep (6 or more kilometers) drills and conducting special in-depth geological and geophysical studies. The development of this program will enable us to study the structure and history of the various tectonic zones on a qualitatively new level, such as shields and ancient platforms, folded zones of different ages, coastal continental areas and island arcs and to assess our mineral and raw material resources on



a new basis. The program is closely related to the new stage in large-scale geological studies of the country's territory, which will raise to an overall new level our scientific concepts of the geological structure of a huge territory.

Specialists from the USSR Ministry of Geology and the USSR Academy of Sciences completed a comprehensive geological-geophysical and geochemical zoning project to sum up data on the deep geological structure and the geodynamics of the country's ground. This was based on interrelated maps of its territory as a whole and of individual areas. These new additions provide an idea of the set of structural-material, age, energy and other characteristics of geological bodies and of the heterogeneous nature of the structure of the earth's crust in depth and the upper mantle for all three levels.

The regional breakdown of the disposition of geological blocks of different ages and the stabilization of active tectonic processes yielded data on lateral heterogeneity and the evolution of the earth's crust on the territory of the Soviet Union and the global processes of the earth's development (for all types of geodynamic systems are present within our huge territory).

A number of hypotheses which seemed to have been firmly proven must be revised at the present time. Periods of recognizable basic horizontal or vertical shifts of major blocks and slices of the earth's crust have alternated in the history of tectonic ideas. The detailed geophysical study of sea and ocean waters clarified a number of ideas after drilling was undertaken on the ocean floor with specially adapted ships starting in 1968. The system of underwater oceanic ridges which roughly divide the Atlantic Ocean south of Africa, turn east and branch out toward the Gulf of Aden and, subsequently, pass south of Australia, cross the southeastern part of the Pacific Ocean and go under the folds which rise from the east in the western part of North America have been known for some time. The latest studies prove that major slabs of the earth's crust are shifting in the main part of this entire complex mountainous system under the sea, paralleled by flows of basalt lavas. It has even been possible to compute the speed of such shifts. In the mid-Atlantic ridge it is 2-2.5 centimeters per year; in the southeastern part of the Pacific Ocean it reaches 8-12 centimeters annually. It has been established that deep water channels, which are typical of the periphery of the Pacific Ocean, but are also found in the northeastern part of the Indian Ocean and elsewhere, are areas in which the oceanic crust is rising at an angle under the lighter-weight earth's crust of the continents. Unquestionably, all of these are manifestations of horizontal movements of large lithospheric slabs. However, independent purely vertical movements of considerable blocs exist as well. Thus, studies conducted during the last 10 years have determined that water depressions in the Black and Mediterranean seas and in the Far Eastern seas (Bering, Okhot, Japan) were formed as a result of the vertical drop of large blocks of the earth's crust. Iceland appeared as a result of a vertical rise of a part of the mid-Atlantic ridge. The main reason for the vertical movement, as has now been accurately determined, is the phase changes in the substance of mountain rocks at subhorizontal edges, easy to determine with seismic soundings. Ordinary granite, with a 2.7 density, is subject to metamorphism at a depth in excess of 17-18 kilometers. It loses minerals containing water from crystallization, shrinks and turns into granulite with a density of 3.1.

Meanwhile, the basalt, which has a 3.1 density on the surface, under the conditions of high pressure and not particularly great heat originating from within the earth, converts into eclogite with a 3.4 density. Chemically, it is basalt with a thicker "packaging" of many minerals. As a result of a higher heat flow the reverse is noted (eclogite turns into basalt). Such phase conversions are accompanied by significant changes in the volume of rocks. On the earth's surface this has led to drops and formations of sedimentary basins or rises and even the formation of mountains.

In a number of cases deep seismic sounding has determined that vertical rises in the earth's crust have been the result of hot and relatively less dense mantle substances coming closer to the surface.

Of late our views on the circumstances which led to the formation of a number of minerals have changed as well. Until the middle of the century, in all cases the geologists tried to find in our own epoch some similarities to the various types of sedimentary ores and by studying the conditions under which they were formed, to determine their origins. In recent decades the scientists have reached the firm conviction that the conditions under which a number of minerals were formed have changed the earth's history in accordance with changes in the composition of the atmosphere, the salts in the world's oceans and the development of organic life. Current assessments of possible discoveries of new mineral deposits mandatorily take into consideration the geological age of the rocks in the surveyed territory and the study of the physical-geographic and geochemical characteristics of the respective areas.

Today the scientific agenda includes the development of a unified theory of the earth. This question has been raised previously as well (how could one not recall the works of the noted Soviet scientist Boris Leonidovich Lichkov (1888-1966, one of the founders of planetary geology and V. I. Vernadskiy's friend). However, it is only now that this problem has become truly urgent, enhanced by vital practical requirements. The creation of such a theory is possible only with the definitive clarification of the overall laws governing the development of matter and the structure of our planet and the mechanism of the structural-material changes in the earth's crust, mantle and nucleus. All of this will require further gathering, summation and study of comprehensive geological-geophysical and geochemical information and the organization of special in-depth studies of the lithosphere on the basis of the latest theoretical and technical accomplishments. This can be achieved only by creating a uniform system of original studies of the earth's crust and the upper mantle.

The global nature of the problems the solution of which will determine the future of geology determines the need for fruitful cooperation among scientists of all countries, the strengthening and broadening of contacts among them and the creation of a favorable political atmosphere for scientific interaction. The International Geological Congress and the study by foreign

specialists of the activities of Soviet scientists and the Soviet Union will contribute not only to the progress of science but to the preservation of peace the world over.

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'I BELIEVE IN THE TRIUMPH OF THE TRUTH'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 84 (signed to press 23 Jul 84) pp 72-74

[Article by A. Zholkver]

[Text] The event occurred 40 years ago, on the night of 18 August 1944. A prison van drove to the building of the crematorium in Buchenwald, the Hitlerite concentration camp. SS officers took out of it a thickset man with hands tied behind his back. A shot was heard....

This ended the life of a fiery revolutionary and outstanding leader of the German and international worker movements, Ernst Thalmann, the chairman of the Communist Party of Germany. Today a memorial plaque on the building of the Buchenwald crematorium which, like the entire former concentration camp, has become a monument to the antifascist resistance in the GDR, proclaims eternal glory to the leader of the German workers. The book "Ernst Thalmann. A Biography," which was written by a group of authors of the SED Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, recently published in a Russian translation by Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoy Literatury, vividly describes his life, struggle and heroic death and the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the first socialist state on German soil. "Ernst Thalmann's life and activities are inseparably linked to the revolutionary German worker movement of the first half of our century," the preface reads. "His activities, which have become a historical exploit, are inseparable from the development of the Communist Party of Germany as a Marxist-Leninist party and its transformation into a strong and united militant party closely linked with the masses and its tireless struggle for the interests of the working class and all toiling people" (p 5).

Ernst Thalmann's biography is also an outline of the history of the revolutionary party of the German proletariat and the struggle of the working class for its liberation. The SED Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism has carried out an extensive research project. They gathered a great deal of important information from the articles and speeches by the CPG leaders and the works of German and Soviet historians. The historical archives of the CPG, documents of the fraternal parties and Thalmann's literary legacy were studied. Recollections by Thalmann's fellow workers, his wife Rosa and his daughter Irma were other important sources.



This led to the appearance of this book, which reveals the rich treasury of the revolutionary experience gained by Ernst Thalmann, clearly describing him as a person embodying the best features of a proletarian tempered in class battles and a convinced Marxist-Leninist. It traces the path covered by Thalmann from class-conscious worker to chairman of the German Communist Party and one of the leaders of the Communist International. Truly noteworthy is the fact that this path began in Hamburg--the largest German industrial and port city, and one of the centers of the German labor movement. The foundations of his class awareness were laid not in the home of his parents, the family of a former farmhand and subsequently owner of a small vegetable stand, but through daily contacts with Hamburg's proletariat and his awareness of their difficult life which soon afterwards became a life shared by Thalmann himself as a dock worker. At the age of 17 he joined the Social Democratic Party and subsequently, many years later, he wrote that "the Hamburg blue- and white-collar workers always were and remain my closest brothers" (p 252).

They, the Hamburg proletarians, who lovingly called Thalmann "our Teddy," always considered him one of their own. This was when he had just entered the labor movement as a member of the transportation workers' trade union and subsequently, when he headed the union and when the workers elected him their deputy to the Hamburg parliament and the German Reichstag. Throughout that time Ernst Thalmann persistently studied the theory and practice of the class struggle.

The book describes yet another school attended by the young worker: the hard school of World War I front-line service. He went through the drill and saw soldiers die. He was wounded. He subsequently learned the theory of imperialist wars and their secret motives and became a firm opponent of militarism forever. "We, who took part in this war," Thalmann wrote, "experienced all of its horrors and disgust and saw the murders, for which reason we bear our share of responsibility in preventing the senseless shedding of a single drop of blood" (p 41).

It was there, at the front, that Thalmann also realized how to put an end to war. It was in the hospital that he first read about the revolution in Petrograd and the withdrawal of Russia from the war. By the time Thalmann returned to his native Hamburg, the revolution was in full swing in Germany as well and yesterday's soldier took part in demonstrations and disseminated leaflets.

Thalmann increasingly realized the need for the unification of all detachments within the German labor movement. He was elected member of the Central Commission of the United Communist Party of Germany at the December 1920 joint session of the National Social Democratic Party of Germany, with the participation of the Communist Party of Germany. It is thus that the path which Thalmann consistently followed led him into the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard of the German proletariat and thus to the international communist movement.

The land of the soviets was always Thalmann's bright beacon in this movement. His first visit to the Soviet Union was in June 1921 as delegate to the Third World Comintern Congress. "Now he could see with his own eyes," the authors

of the biography write, "the state in which the future for which he lived and struggled was taking place. He was able personally to see what power in the hands of the working class meant and could study the experience of the RKP(b), the vanguard of the international communist movement.... It was here that he met V. I. Lenin and other noted leaders of the workers movement" (pp 87-88). Direct contact with members of the revolutionary proletariat of many countries and their reports on the class struggle throughout the world left a permanent impression in him. They strengthened his internationalist views, broadened his outlook and helped him to understand more profoundly the problems of the international workers movement. The conclusions of the need for unity of action among working people, within the country and in the international communist movement, became the great lessons of life and struggle for Ernst Thalmann and the entire Communist Party of Germany.

While Thalmann was in Moscow, attending a Comintern session, the international workers movement suffered a heavy loss: Lenin died. Thalmann stood honor guard at his coffin. During those days of sadness, in his letter to the Soviet workers and peasants, Ernst Thalmann assured them on behalf of all German communists that "Lenin is dead but his revolutionary spirit lives in all of us" (p 140). All of Thalmann's subsequent activities as the leader of the German proletariat prove the great importance which he ascribed to these words. Lenin's ideas increasingly became the basis of his activities. The fact that in subsequent years the CPG increasingly mastered Lenin's theory and increasingly adapted Leninism to specific German conditions was due to Thalmann above all. At the first anniversary of Lenin's death, speaking at Berlin's Sport Palast, addressing 20,000 German communists, Thalmann said: "Lenin's cause was the revolution. Leninism means world revolution. Today workers in both capitalist and colonial countries and the peasant masses are increasingly realizing that Leninism is the live cause of Marxism" (p 158).

In 1924 Thalmann was elected chairman of the CPG and member of the Comintern Presidium. New party bylaws were adopted at the 10th CPG Congress in 1925 on Thalmann's initiative, which established prerequisites for the organization of all party life in a Leninist spirit. The bylaws stipulated for the first time that plant cells must be the foundations of the party organization. "Ernst Thalmann," we read in his biography, "energetically tried to apply the Leninist style in the work of the Central Committee and the Politburo and throughout the entire party apparatus.... The central party apparatus became more flexible and combat-capable" (p 188).

Toward the end of the 1920s, totally warranted by the existing situation, Ernst Thalmann focused the party's general line on the struggle against the threat of fascism and war. The Communist Party called for a national plebiscite against building navy ships in Germany. An international antifascist congress was held in Berlin, organized by the CPG together with other fraternal parties. On the initiative of the CPG 1 August--the day World War I broke out--began to be celebrated annually in Germany as a day of struggle against war.

The imperialist countries pursued a different policy toward German fascism. In December 1932 the signatories to the Versailles Treaty--France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States--granted Germany the "principle of

equality" in armaments. This opened the way of German militarism to the acquisition of weapons and created favorable conditions for the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

Hitler was named chancellor on 30 January 1933. On Thalmann's instructions the party's leadership suggested to the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany jointly to organize a general strike to overthrow Hitler's government. The CPG Central Committee made the same suggestion to the trade unions. However, the right-wing social democratic and trade union leadership stubbornly pursued their anticommunist course and refused to call upon their members and supporters to engage in active struggle against the Hitlerites.

On 23 February storm troopers and the police occupied the CPG Central Committee building. On 27 February the Central Committee Politburo held a clandestine meeting. As its participants were returning to their clandestine premises they saw the glow of a fire in the center of Berlin: the Reichstag was on fire, and even before the fire had been put out the Nazis had spread the lie that the communists were to be blamed for setting the Reichstag on fire and had launched a campaign of mass terrorism against the communist party and the other opponents of Hitler. The same day the order to arrest the CPG leaders was issued to all police precincts. Thalmann headed the list. The CPG Central Committee decreed that the party chairman and the other leaders be guarded particularly closely and, if necessary, taken abroad. However, they were unable to persuade Thalmann to leave Berlin, not to mention Germany. He wanted to direct the struggle against fascism in the country personally and for as long as was possible. However, as a result of an informer's tip Thalmann was captured by the Hitlerites on 3 March. This marked the beginning of the "hardest possible struggle" about which he had cautioned his comrades at the last clandestine Central Committee plenum. In his first letter to his wife written in jail he wrote that "...one must hold on, for so far my entire life has been one of struggle and will remain such until I die..." (p 476).

Thalmann's life was marked by severe trials. The Hitlerites hoped to crush his spirit at the trial of the leader of the communist party they planned to hold. They made long preparations for this trial which, as they intended, was to compensate for the shameful failure of their trial of Dimitrov. However, the Hitlerites did not dare to go to court. They feared the best-known prisoner of fascist Germany. They feared the mass movement of solidarity with him which had become literally worldwide.

In the fascist jail as well Thalmann remained a fighter. He kept in touch with the party's leadership abroad, obtained information and issued advice and recommendations through his wife and daughter, who were in touch with party couriers. His letter clandestinely sent from jail during the period of preparations for the 7th World Comintern Congress, the purpose of which was to sum up the experience acquired in the struggle against fascism and to formulate a joint policy for the global communist movement on this most important problem, was of particular importance. The leitmotif of Thalmann's letter was that "the struggle against fascism requires the unification, combat cohesion and unity of the working class within the individual countries and throughout the world" (p 519). Thalmann was elected honorary president of the congress and the ideas expressed in his letter became part of the resolutions

adopted at the congress which entered the history of the communist movement as an important landmark in the creation of a broad antifascist popular front.

Thalmann was in the Hanover Prison when he was informed of the treacherous Hitlerite attack on the Soviet Union. As we read in his biography, this was the worst news he received during his entire jail term. During the first meeting between Irma Thalmann with her father, after the fascist attack on the Soviet Union, the warden boastfully said: "We are waging a blitzkrieg on the Russians. We shall reach Moscow in a few days." Ernst Thalmann's answer was the following: "The fascist armies will meet their end in the Soviet Union.... The entire Soviet people will fight until the entire land of the soviets is free.... Your blitzkrieg will end in the Soviet Union with your total annihilation" (p 550).

Thalmann's words were prophetic. However, he did not live to see the bright day of the defeat of fascism.

On 14 August 1944 Himmler had a long talk with Hitler. One of the questions they discussed was Thalmann's fate. The decision was taken that he should not survive Hitler's regime. On Hitler's instructions, Himmler recorded in his notebook against Thalmann's name: "To be executed."

This criminal intent was carried out at the gate of the Buchenwald crematorium. In this case, however, its steps led not only to the furnaces but to immortality as well. The words of Comrade Erich Honecker are the best epigraph to this splendid and touching book about Thalmann: "Ernst Thalmann is still with us, for we have sworn to strengthen our republic in his spirit and to carry steadfastly forward the banner of the socialist revolution" (p 1).

Ernst Thalmann dedicated all his strength to serving the lofty ideals of mankind: the struggle for its freedom from exploitation and oppression and the struggle for peace and communism. The book which has now become available to the broad Soviet reading circles, describes the rich experience gained by the communists in this struggle, for which reason one of its merits is that it provides a broad panoramic view of the global communist movement.

Thalmann's entire biography is a story of his consistent internationalism and his loyalty to the friendship and solidarity with Lenin's country and party.

Thalmann's passionate exposure of German fascism and militarism, its reactionary nature and its policy which threatens peace remains relevant. Furthermore, even during the years of inhuman torture in the fascist jail, Thalmann retained his faith in the triumph of communist ideas, humanism, freedom and justice. In one of his letters from jail he wrote that: "...I



believe in the triumph of truth..." (p 516). The Soviet readers will read with great interest the biography of the leader of the German working class, who proved through his entire life his loyalty to the lofty ideals of communism.

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## FIGHTER'S LAST WORDS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 84 (signed to press 23 Jul 84) pp 75-76

[Article by Sula Theodoridi-Theodosiadi, Athens]

[Text] RIZOSPASTIS, the central organ of the Communist Party of Greece Central Committee, recently published the article by S. Theodoridi-Theodosiadi, which describes the final days of Artem Babanyan, a legend in his own time in Armenia. Artem Babanyan--a communist-internationalist and son of the Armenian people--fought in the ranks of the Communist Party of Greece. Some people knew him and even stayed with him until his final hour.... His life ended in 1946 in fascist jail.

Our youth today is showing greater interest in the zealous fighters for the great communist ideals. Many of them are still unknown. That is why I translated into Russian the article by Sula Theodoridi-Theodosiadi, an internationalist and a person who witnessed the last hours of the life of the courageous fighter and inflexible patriot Artem Babanyan.

A. Saakyan, teacher, Alaverdi, Armenian SSR.

This occurred on the eve of the liberation of Greece from the German aggressors. The heavy gates of the Kozani jail opened at dawn and a stranger was brought in...

The inmates behind the bars woke up. We had already become accustomed to prison routine and to night visits, the more so since the women's ward looked on the main entrance and was next to the administrative office. The new inmate looked like a soldier. He must have angered the guards, for they kicked him into his cell with their nailed boots.

The first thing that came to mind was that this may be a provocation. However, the prison telegraph soon reported that the new prisoner was an Armenian from Salonika, named Artem, an ELAS (ELAS--the Greek National

Liberation Army) soldier. His father and sister had returned to Armenia but he had remained in Greece.

"When times are hard I must be where my party is at work," Babanyan told his relatives.

... The next morning guards entered his cell. Handcuffs were put on Artem and he was led to interrogation. By midday he came back--sentenced to execution. This was his 10th sentence.

"I was tried without witnesses and without council," A. Babanyan answered his comrades' questions. "I insisted on the presence of an attorney. Also according to the law this should have been a group trial. I should have been tried alongside those with whom I was captured. Apparently, someone is in a hurry to end the trial before the wounds from the torture heal up."

Indeed, even after 3 months in hospital his entire body showed the marks of torture.

... Artem was in the army when 70 "muledrivers," as the authorities so scornfully called the ELAS fighters, escaped from one of the military barracks of Kozani. The escapees were quickly rounded up and confined again. During their interrogation they were tortured brutally: they were hung by their feet from the ceiling and beaten to music.

Artem's heart bled when he saw the torment of his comrades, and he decided to help them... He gathered a detachment of ELAS troops to liberate the inmates and take to the mountains with them. The operation was carefully prepared but at the last moment a provocateur betrayed the group. The courageous Artem was made the main culprit. He daringly assumed responsibility for the operation, for which reason he was tried separately, as a "foreign agent."

In court A. Babanyan behaved bravely and with dignity, as befits a true communist. He defended the positions held by his party and exposed the traitors to the people, who had come to power with the support of foreign weapons.

Everyone knew that Artem's days were numbered. However, he continued to joke and smile even after the petition for pardon had been rejected. During the evenings he recited to those around him Ostrovskiy's novel "And the Steel Was Tempered." He also loved to recite the legend of the "Stone Flower."

Once, as we were lining up for lunch, comrades from his cell summoned me and, through the small barred window on the door introduced me to Artem. He greeted me warmly and, unnoticed by the guards, smuggled two letters to me. One of them was addressed to the Communist Party of Greece. Part of the letter read: "I do not regret giving my life for the ideas in the spirit of which you (the party) raised me. I find it painful to be unable to participate in the struggle to final victory. Comrades, pursue your just cause. Long live the great Soviet Union! With comradely love, Artem Babanyan."

The second letter was to his father and sister. I can recite it verbatim: "By the time you receive this paper I will be dead. Do not cry or mourn. Be proud of your son and brother, for I welcome death for the sake of my party and the Greek people who have become very precious to me. I fought its enemies and I am giving my life for the sake of the future of Hellas. It is a shameless lie that I was an agent of a foreign country. I revered Greece and loved it like my own country. Forgive me, father, for causing you sorrow and for not going with you. I kiss you, your Artem."

Artem was taken out of his cell on a cold November night. He marched barefoot, in his underwear, down the cold steps. He marched with his head held high, which particularly enraged the guards. To Artem this was a final confrontation with the enemy. At one point, ducking a blow, he shouted in our direction:

"Freedom will soon be yours, comrades...."

He was executed at dawn, in the barracks courtyard. He was buried in the cemetery of St. George Monastery, not far from the jail. We paid respect to his memory with a minute of silence, after which the prisoners in all the cells began singing the revolutionary song which seemed as though coming from beneath the earth: "You bravely fell in the terrific fight...."

Unfortunately, I was unable to take Artem Babanyan's letters with me. For a long time they lay hidden along with diaries of prison life and other documents. Nevertheless, fearing the frequent searches, by decision of the organization we had to destroy them.

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## STRENGTHENING PEACE AND SECURITY IN ASIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 83 (signed to press 23 Jul 84) pp 77-86

[Article by Mangalyn Dugersuren, Mongolian People's Republic Minister of Foreign Affairs]

[Text] The development of the international situation has entered a very difficult and tense period. The most frenzied detachment of world imperialism, headed by the United States, has launched an unbridled "crusade" against real socialism and the forces of national liberation and social progress. Having set themselves the objective of turning back the progressive movement of mankind, the extreme reactionary forces chose the destabilizing of the strategic balance and gaining military superiority over world socialism as their principal means. Increasing reliance is placed on the unprecedented growth of the U.S. military potential and on intensifying the arms race with nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons.

The aggressive plans of the militant imperialist forces found an exceptionally fatal, practical manifestation in the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of Western European countries, which has dangerously worsened the threat of nuclear war. By this token the United States and its main NATO allies have taken a step deeply hostile to mankind and world civilization.

In its efforts to achieve world domination, Washington is pursuing an openly militaristic course, promoting coercion and terrorism to the rank of state policy. The armed occupation of Grenada, the escalation of the undeclared war on Nicaragua and the criminal aggression against Lebanon are clear proof of this fact. Such a militaristic course is paralleled by inflated "psychological warfare" against the socialist commonwealth and the forces of national independence, democracy and progress. Militarism and revanchism are being revived in Europe and Asia; the political and territorial realities which were established as a result of World War II are subject to attack. In their desire somehow to justify their dangerous policies, the imperialists are using the extensive arsenal of methods of blackmail and hypocrisy, fraud and political demagoguery. The threadbare lie of the "Soviet military threat" is the most disgusting and politically malicious slander.

In the present difficult and very dangerous international situation, restraining the aggressive actions of militant imperialist circles has become a vital task of the present. The Soviet Union and the entire socialist commonwealth are increasing their peaceable efforts aimed at preventing the threat of nuclear war and radically improving global circumstances. An entire set of constructive proposals are contained in the Prague Political Declaration of Warsaw Pact Members and the joint Moscow Declaration of Leading Party and Government Leaders of the Socialist Countries and the historical declarations of the Soviet leadership.

The firm, principled yet also flexible reaction of the Soviet government to the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe met with the broad support of everyone concerned with peace and security for the present and future generations. The responsive measures which were forced upon the USSR, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, in coordination with the other fraternal countries, are consistent with the interests not only of the peoples of the socialist states but all mankind. This is not a demonstration of military power, for that is something alien to the nature of the socialist system, but a manifestation of the political will of the socialist countries not to allow changes in military-strategic parity to the advantage of amateurs of military adventures.

The proposal of the Soviet Union to the United States to engage in immediate talks on the prevention of militarization of outer space is extremely timely and constructive. The declaration of the Soviet government on this subject expresses the expectations of the world community.

At the Stockholm Conference on Measures to Strengthen Trust and Security and Disarmament in Europe, the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact members once again clearly confirmed their constructive positions by suggesting real ways of strengthening detente and its results in Europe and steadfastly implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. They proceed from the fact that the manifestation of political willpower and a constructive spirit and responsible approach by the participants in the conference is a necessary prerequisite for surmounting the current dangerous situation in international relations in Europe and the rest of the world.

The documents adopted at the summit meeting of the Economic Conference of CEMA Countries in Moscow clearly proved once again that real socialism is performing a mission of peace and that it is fully resolved to do everything possible for the sake of this noble objective.

The constructive ideas and specific suggestions formulated in the speeches by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, convincingly prove that the Soviet Union is following firmly and steadfastly a line of normalizing the situation in Asia and is systematically and persistently supporting the adoption of efficient measures for military detente on this continent. The views expressed by Comrade K. U. Chernenko in his 23 May speech most emphatically proved the aspiration of the land of the soviets comprehensively to contribute to improving the situation in Asia and achieving reciprocal understanding and

strengthening cooperation among countries in this area and converting it into a zone of peace.

# I

Together with Western Europe, Asia has been assigned a major role in Washington's aggressive military and political plans. The subversive activities of imperialist forces have always been the main source of aggravation of the situation in this extensive and strategically important continent possessing tremendous natural and human resources. In recent times the United States has tried on three different occasions to implement the policy of "throwing back communism" in Asia with armed force. It mounted the armed aggression against the Korean People's Democratic Republic in 1950-1953. It supported the French colonial adventure against the Vietnamese people. Between 1965 and 1975 Washington waged a barbaric war on socialist Vietnam. Let us point out that it was precisely in Asia that the overwhelming majority of wars and armed conflicts unleashed by the forces of imperialism and reaction after World War II have taken place. To this day a number of major and minor hotbeds of tension remain on this continent.

Under the pretext of "ensuring the security" of Asian countries, Washington is impudently interfering in their internal affairs promoting hotbeds of war and violence and declaring entire areas in Asia spheres of its "vital interests." Of late the military presence of the United States has increased sharply. New American military bases and bridgeheads for aggression have been created. A large contingent of U.S. armed forces, the second most powerful after those in Western Europe, have been deployed in the areas of the Pacific and Indian oceans. This includes interventionist "rapid deployment forces" under a "central command" (Sentcom). Its area of action includes 19 countries in Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa.

As a result of the intrigues and provocations of U.S. imperialists, the zone of the Indian Ocean has become an extremely dangerous hotbed of tension and threat of war. In all postwar history never have such large armed forces and combat ordnance been massed in this area. The Pentagon's military potential consists of a widespread network of military bases centered on Diego Garcia Island, a naval armada of several dozen ships and police "rapid deployment forces," ready to intervene in any country displeasing to Washington at any time.

Actually, it is a question of the creation of a widespread military structure the backbone of which will be the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul "axis." Plans are being drafted to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles, the notorious "Pershings" and cruise missiles in particular, in the Far East and southern Asia, thus turning these areas into nuclear conflict theaters.

The United States is feverishly arming Pakistan, which is being converted into a large U.S. military base in the area and a structural link of the "defensive alliance" planned by Washington for Southern Asia and the Persian Gulf. The public is quite alarmed by the Pentagon's plans for deploying American nuclear missiles in Pakistan. The latest events in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka prove



that the United States are including these countries in the orbit of its military-political strategy.

At the same time, imperialist intrigues against the Republic of India have been drastically intensified in the political, economic and other areas. The hostile forces are making great efforts to dislodge India from its traditional course of positive neutrality and destabilize its internal situation by encouraging and openly supporting separatist elements in the country. The objective of these forces is to disturb the friendly relations existing between India and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Such relations, which are a very important positive factor not only in Asia but throughout the world, do not suit the opponents of peace and friendship among the peoples.

Militarism is becoming increasingly obvious in the policy of the Japanese ruling circles. Their representatives extensively speak of "Japan's increased national power" and proclaim that Tokyo should play a military-political role in Asia and beyond consistent with its economic power. Japan is becoming increasingly integrated in the NATO bloc and is taking active part in the strategic plans of the Reagan administration in Asia and the Pacific Ocean area. The leadership in Washington is openly proclaiming that U.S. Japanese partnership should be the cornerstone of military efforts in the area. Reagan describes this partnership as the "new advanced frontier of the West." It is clear to everyone that such a partnership is aimed not only against the USSR and the other socialist countries but also against all other countries in Asia. Reagan's November 1983 visit to Japan proved the advent of a new stage in Japanese-American relations--the stage of global partnership. The Japanese military noted with satisfaction that this trip would strengthen "bilateral military partnership" and make the "American-Japanese alliance more mature."

In the broadening American-military and political cooperation, the emphasis rests on turning Japan's territory into an advanced base for a first strike and an "unsinkable aircraft carrier." It is a question of the division of "roles and missions" in the field of "defense," unified military planning and standardization of armaments. The announcement published by the press to the effect that the "Defense White Paper" published by the Japanese government in 1983 has a sinister implication: the Japanese forces are given the task of becoming able to fight in a nuclear war in interaction with and support by the American armed forces.

In encouraging nationalistic feelings in favor of the country's remilitarization and intensification of preparations for war, the ruling circles in Tokyo are trying to instill into the Japanese people the idea of a certain "common destiny" shared by Japan and the United States." Open efforts are being made to whitewash the criminal actions of the former militarists and to revise the results of postwar settlements. Anti-Soviet hysteria is being promoted and the question of the so-called "northern territories" is being artificially raised.

The feverish arming of the South Korean regime and the organization of a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military-political alliance are intrinsic elements in the creation of a so-called American-Japanese "security system." This system



encompasses the members of ASEAN and Taiwan, which remains a U.S. base and military ally.

In discussing the factors which influence the situation in Asia, we cannot ignore the foreign policy of the Chinese leadership, which is detrimental to the interests of peace and the national independence and social progress of the nations. Furthermore, it is pursuing a policy of "parallel interests," by acting together with imperialist and other reactionary forces, which includes encroachments on the independence and revolutionary gains of countries in Indochina and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Beijing mounted an open-armed attack on the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The hegemonism of Beijing's leadership is manifested in territorial aspirations toward virtually all neighboring countries.

The United States, Japan and the other imperialist countries are continuing to rely on the PRC in their foreign policy strategy as a force set up against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and a factor which can influence changes in the ratio of forces. For this reason the current main objective of these imperialist countries is to oppose by all means at their disposal any possible improvement in Sino-Soviet relations. Washington's and Tokyo's long-term objectives are to integrate China within the global capitalist system and to use it to promote the interests of imperialist military-political strategy in Asia and beyond it.

In turn, Beijing never loses an opportunity to display its pro-imperialist leaning in key matters of international relations. The increased frequency of reciprocal visits on different levels, including summit meetings, between the United States and China and between China and Japan confirm the energizing of political and strategic cooperation between these countries.

In pursuing a line hostile to the cause of peace and the national independence and social progress of the peoples of Southeast Asia, the imperialist and hegemonist circles are doing everything possible to hinder the establishment of good neighborly relations between the socialist countries in Indochina and the members of ASEAN. They are making extensive efforts to promote reciprocal mistrust and enmity between these two groups of countries. They use to this effect the so-called Kampuchean problem. A policy of constant destabilization and draining of forces is applied toward the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The plans for converting ASEAN into a military bloc or including this association in the planned "Pacific Ocean Commonwealth" play a major role in U.S.-Asian strategy. ASEAN is considered an important link in the "defense chain" stretching from South Korea and Japan to Australia and New Zealand. The openly expansionistic military and economic policy of the United States and Japan in Southeast Asia is a growing concern of the peoples of this area and throughout Asia. The Asian people are very familiar with the predatory nature of Japanese militarism.

## II

Although an extremely difficult and alarming situation has developed on the Asian continent and in the world at large, the Mongolian People's Republic government and people look optimistically at the prospects in the struggle for safeguarding peace and security in this vast area of earth. They proceed from the fact that the forces of peace and progress are far more powerful than the supporters of war and reaction. The year 1983 was a time of drastic upsurge in the antiwar movement on all continents and of strengthening the unity of action among the people's masses against a global nuclear catastrophe. This proves the great potential of the peace-loving forces.

The growing defense power of the socialist commonwealth and its tireless peaceful efforts are a decisive factor in the prevention of nuclear war and in preserving and intensifying detente. All positive changes in Asia are inseparably related to the peaceable internationalist policy of this commonwealth.

From the very first days of its existence the Soviet state has tirelessly worked for preserving peace and ensuring safety in Asia and throughout the world. It is making a decisive contribution to strengthening the forces of national and social liberation and consolidating the foundations of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. In his time, V. I. Lenin pointed out that "the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the Orient can now develop successfully. It can be resolved only in direct connection with the revolutionary struggle waged by our Soviet republic against international imperialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 318). Cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and with progressive peace-loving countries in Asia helps to develop vast zones of peace on that continent.

The establishment of the unified Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the victory of the people's democratic revolution in Afghanistan significantly strengthened the position of the forces of peace, national liberation and social progress in Asia and throughout the world.

The peace program for the 1980s, the Prague Political Declaration of Warsaw Pact members (January 1983) and the Moscow Declaration of Party and State Leaders of Socialist Countries (June 1983) as well as the entire set of constructive proposals formulated of late by the CPSU and the Soviet state offer a reliable solution to many grave problems in the world, including in Asia.

The implementation of the Soviet suggestion of developing measures of trust and good neighborly relations among countries in the area becomes particularly relevant under the conditions of the growing tension in the Far East.

It is precisely in this spirit that the Mongolian People's Republic, like the other fraternal countries, ascribes great importance to Soviet-Chinese consultations on normalizing relations between the two countries. The 2 March declaration of the Mongolian government emphasized that because of its great

importance to the peoples of both countries, normalizing and improving Soviet-Chinese relations would unquestionably contribute to strengthening the cause of peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world. That is why the Mongolian People's Republic hopes for a positive outcome of such consultations. However, we consider improper the preconditions formulated by the Chinese side relative to the sovereign rights of third countries. In particular, Mongolia categorically rejects the attempts of the Chinese side to make the withdrawal of Soviet military units from Mongolia one of the conditions for normalizing Sino-Soviet relations. This constitutes a gross interference in our country's domestic affairs.

Soviet military units are temporarily deployed on Mongolian territory at the request of its government and on the basis of the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty which was initialed between the two countries. As was reemphasized in said declaration, these troops will be withdrawn from Mongolia after the circumstances which required the need for their deployment have been exterminated. These circumstances are precisely related to the hegemonistic aspirations of Beijing's leadership concerning the Mongolian People's Republic. The presence of Soviet military units on Mongolian territory is no threat whatsoever to PRC security.

It would be relevant at this point to mention historical facts. The temporary stay of Soviet military units at the beginning of the 1920s and the end of the 1930s, because of external threats to the Mongolian People's Republic, not only helped Mongolia to defend its independence and sovereignty but served the interests of peace and security in the Far East and in Asia. The same situation prevails today.

The worsened situation in the area of the Pacific and Indian oceans demands greater efforts in the implementation of Soviet initiatives aimed at limiting the activities of navies and extending measures of trust in seas and oceans, particularly along the most active sea lanes. Let us emphasize in this connection that the considered and realistic approach of the ruling Japanese circles to problems of peace and war and, particularly, the proposals of the Soviet government we mentioned, would contribute to strengthening security in Asia and would be consistent with the interests of all countries on the continent and those of the Japanese people. The true interests of Japan itself demand not a military blockade of vitally important sea lanes and straits but the extensive dissemination in such areas of measures of trust and a well-wishing attitude concerning the legitimate interests and needs of other countries.

The withdrawal of American forces and armaments from South Korea and the unification of the country on a peaceful democratic basis are of exceptional importance in strengthening peace and security in the Far East and throughout Asia. The southern part of the Korean Peninsula is currently being converted into a launching pad for nuclear weapons. That is why all positive suggestions aimed at ending a dangerous development of events in this part of the continent must meet with extensive support. The Asian public positively welcomed the appeal of the Supreme National Assembly of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, which called upon the parliaments and governments of all countries firmly to demand that the United States withdraw nuclear weapons



from South Korea, abandon its plans for deploying Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in that country and contribute to turning this area into a zone of peace.

The suggestions formulated by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea of turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability and normalizing relations with ASEAN members are having a beneficial impact on the political atmosphere in the area. A spirit of dialogues is gradually making its way in relations between ASEAN members and the countries in Indochina. This is helped by the realistic and flexible positions held by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and their sincere aspiration to improve the international atmosphere in the area. The 8th Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea proved once again that these three fraternal countries are an important factor of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and throughout the Asian continent.

The soonest possible political settlement of the situation which has developed in Afghanistan as a result of the intrigues of the enemies of the people's regime would be a great contribution to peace and security in Asia. The familiar proposal submitted by the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981 are a good foundation for a settlement. Mongolia favors the positive outcome of the dialogue between the ministers of foreign affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan with the personal mediation of the United Nations secretary general. The 13 July 1983 Joint Mongolian-African Declaration emphasized that the "political settlement of the situation with Afghanistan could be achieved only with the total elimination of all forms of intervention, including the use of arms, in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and by providing a safe guarantee which will ensure the end to and future prevention of such intervention."

In the face of the extensive military preparations of the United States in the Indian Ocean, the question of implementing the 1971 United Nations declaration on making this area a zone of peace and convening an international conference on this problem becomes particularly relevant. The Mongolian People's Republic supports the efforts of the coastal states in closing down all foreign military bases in the area.

In the light of the present severely aggravated situation in the world, the political relevance of the Mongolian proposal of concluding an international convention on reciprocal nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations among countries in Asia and the Pacific Ocean, formulated on 26 May 1981, becomes even greater.

Let us emphasize above all that our proposal essentially blends with the initiatives of the other socialist countries aimed at strengthening peaceful relations among countries in specific areas or on a global scale. This includes the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union as early as before World War II of creating a collective security system in Europe and the Far East and the 1983 proposal of the Warsaw Pact members of concluding a treaty of reciprocal nonuse of military force and maintaining relations of peace between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Such initiatives are based on the essence of socialist foreign policy and are the political and juridical manifestation of



the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. Naturally, the Mongolian initiative is in harmony with the proposals submitted by other countries, the purpose of which is to codify the principle of the refusal to use force in international relations in specific areas or in Asia as a whole.

On the specific practical level, our initiative is dictated by today's realities in the Asian-Pacific Ocean area. We call for the creation of a system of collective security in this vast area through joint efforts, as the most important prerequisite for strengthening universal peace. Our proposals reflect the aspiration of the peoples and the public of Asian and Pacific Ocean countries of initiating a wide dialogue for jointly finding ways of strengthening trust and reciprocal understanding among the countries in the area. Concern for the situation in Asia and awareness of the urgent need to improve the atmosphere are the common denominator of the positions held by the public and the political circles of the various countries which have expressed their attitude toward our suggestion.

The answer of the Indian prime minister to the message of Comrade Yu. Tsedembal and the joint documents issued by the Mongolian minister of foreign affairs and the ministers of foreign affairs of India and Indonesia assess the proposals submitted by the Mongolian People's Republic as an expression of the noble aspiration of the Mongolian government to make a contribution to strengthening the cause of peace and reciprocal understanding in the area. In the joint communique initialed by the ministers of foreign affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic and Austria, dated 16 May 1982, the Austrian side as well welcomed the Mongolian initiative.

The Mongolian People's Republic proceeds from the fact that a constructive and purposeful dialogue is the most efficient means of preventing and eliminating violence and dictat in international relations. "Considering the present complex situation in Asia," Comrade Yu. Tsedenbal emphasized at the 7th Plenum of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee in December 1983, the importance of talks, consultations and dialogues with a view to a peaceful settlement of arguments and reaching reciprocal understanding and trust among countries becomes particularly obvious."

A durable peace must be based on the sensible and constructive consideration of existing realities and on respect for the rights and legitimate interests of all countries, big and small. Mongolia believes that the search for reciprocal understanding should not be hindered by differences in sociopolitical systems and the levels of the countries' economic development or the political or religious beliefs of the different sides. It is precisely this approach which is one of the basic prerequisites for the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and the democratization of international relations.

The proposed convention should include both measures aimed at excluding the use or threat of force as well as measures to eliminate the consequences of violence and to encourage the creation of a political mechanism for strengthening peace and security in the area. It is essentially based on the fundamental principles of intergovernmental relations such as respect for

sovereignty and territorial integrity, inviolability of state borders, nonintervention in domestic affairs, equality and identical security and equal cooperation. A solemn assertion that the principle of nonuse of force, codified in the United Nations Charter, as a norm of relations among countries in the area would be the major stipulation of such a convention.

The countries which would become part of this convention could assume the following important obligations:

- a. To take joint and individual steps to strengthen trust and reciprocal understanding and to lower the degree of military confrontation between countries;
- b. Jointly to consider steps to prevent the threat of sudden attack;
- c. Actively to participate in the formulation of measures to put an end to the arms race and to promote efficient disarmament measures;
- d. Hold consultations for resolving disputes among signatories to the convention and preventing the outbreak of conflict situations in the area;
- e. Hold in a spirit of good will talks on the elimination of hotbeds of tension and conflicts;
- f. Take joint steps to strengthen the United Nations as a universal collective security instrument.

All of this indicates that the Mongolian proposal is not a simple repetition of the obligation of nonuse of force included in the United Nations Charter, as some people claim. The general stipulations of the charter could and should be concretized and developed in accordance with the requirements and specific situations of individual areas. Article 52 of the United Nations Charter refers to this by especially stipulating the possibility of concluding regional agreements on preserving international peace and security. Furthermore, the members of the United Nations favor precisely the intensification and development of the general statutory stipulations on problems of strengthening security under specific international circumstances. For a number of years a United Nations special committee on strengthening the efficiency of the principle of nonuse of force in international relations has been at work. It is drafting a universal treaty which would ban the use of force in intergovernmental relations.

In mentioning the "hot spots" in Asia, the critics of our proposal say that it would remain unrealistic as long as so many unresolved problems remain. Naturally, the purpose of such stipulations is to justify the intervention of imperialist and other reactionary forces in the domestic affairs of the peoples.

Let us emphasize in this connection that, among others, our initiative pursues a topical practical objective: to mobilize all the forces of the mind and good will in order to eliminate situations which have developed as a result of

aggression and the use of force, for the sake of strengthening peace and security in Asia and beyond it.

A mere expression of concern is insufficient in achieving this objective. The active joint efforts of all interested parties are necessary, for the aggressive aspirations of imperialism and reaction can be effectively rebuffed only through joint efforts. It is precisely this aspect which is particularly emphasized in the appeal addressed by the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic to the parliaments of Asian and Pacific Ocean countries, which was adopted at its 7 December 1983 session. The deputies to the high legislative organ of the Mongolian People's Republic called upon the members of parliaments in Asian and Pacific Ocean countries to do everything possible to lift the nuclear threat hanging over mankind and to mobilize the public of their countries in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of universal peace and against turning the Asian continent into a nuclear missile battlefield. They also called upon their colleagues actively to join the antiwar and antinuclear movement of the masses and the struggle waged by the various population strata in their countries against the threat of war and use, wherever necessary, their prestige and influence to energize such movements.

The 18th Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Congress emphasized that Mongolia will comprehensively work for strengthening peace and security in Asia through the joint efforts of the countries on the continent and for the further broadening of the political dialogue and the development of equal cooperation with Asian countries in different fields.

On this level, Mongolia and the other fraternal countries ascribe great importance to broadening political contacts and consultations with the Nonaligned Movement. Identical or similar views held on the major problems of war and peace create a good foundation for cooperation between the socialist countries and the Nonaligned Movement in lifting the nuclear threat, stopping the arms race and asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

In our view, making use of the various channels for the further comprehensive expansion of foreign policy cooperation with nonaligned and other peaceable countries in Asia would contribute to organizing the collective rebuff of the militaristic course pursued by imperialism on the continent. This makes relevant the active search for efficient forms of interaction with interested countries in the struggle for the elimination of existing hotbeds of tension and conflict situations.

The closer unification of the efforts of socialist countries and other peace-loving countries with the national public movements in the struggle against nuclear war and for disarmament has become a vital task. The struggle for the withdrawal of American nuclear missiles from the continent and against the deployment of new such weapons could become the linchpin of the antiwar movement in Asia.

Together with the fraternal socialist countries and the other peace-loving states, the Mongolian People's Republic is doing everything possible to support the struggle waged by the progressive forces for consolidating peace and lifting the threat of nuclear war from Asia and the entire earth.

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## DEAD ENDS OF DEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by Dr of Historical Sciences A Vasil'yev]

[Text] The Near and Middle East--a strategically important area for its tremendous petroleum resources--is experiencing the steadily increasing interference of imperialist countries, the United States above all. Washington has proclaimed it its "third central strategic zone" alongside Western Europe and the Far East. The interventionist "rapid deployment forces" placed under a "central command" are targeted for this area. The naval armadas of the United States and other countries have been massed here.

This area is one of the main targets of the West's global counteroffensive in the developing countries, aimed at restoring or strengthening the positions of neocolonialism and making this area a firm rear support. In using Israel as its "strategic ally" and expanding its military presence, resorting to direct armed intervention, on the one hand, and using a pressure lever such as the economic dependence of Near and Middle Eastern countries on the capitalist centers, Washington does not particularly bother with looking for convincing pretexts with which to justify its actions.

The defenders of neocolonialist policy, who have donned the mantle of "scientists," are trying to depict matters as though the reason for anti-imperialist explosions is not embedded in the very society of the countries in the area and as though the "combustible material" is not supplied by Western policy itself. Anything anti-Western and anti-American--from Muslim disturbances to guerrilla actions against the Israeli occupation forces in Lebanon--is presented as a result of "Soviet intrigues." "In any remote area of troubles, if you dig deep enough you will find the Soviet Union concocting its witches' brew." This statement by President Reagan provides American politicians and propagandists with a primitive but convenient argument with which they can reject out of hand the internal basic reasons for the national liberation struggle waged by the peoples at the new stage. It is precisely the profound socioeconomic processes which are taking place in the region which provide an explanation for many phenomena which may appear irrational and lie on the surface of events but whose essence is deliberately distorted by imperialist propaganda.

Essential and, in some ways radical changes have taken place in recent decades in the Near and Middle East. A number of major blows were struck at the positions of colonialism and neocolonialism. The imperialist military presence has been reduced significantly if we consider the entire postwar period rather than just recent times. The countries in the area have become the subjects rather than objects of world politics. Most of them have strengthened this role thanks to their comprehensive relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. A number of countries have gained control over their natural resources, taken major steps toward industrialization and reduced possibilities of their direct exploitation by foreign capital.

On the threshold of the 1980s, however, it became clear that society in most Near and Middle Eastern countries was in a state of crisis. The gap between the expectations of the masses and the possibility of satisfying them was widening. "The revolution of growing expectations" is being replaced by a "revolution (reaction, according to some) of betrayed hopes." In itself political independence failed to resolve the problem of surmounting economic backwardness, the poverty of the masses and economic dependence on the West. It did not lead to the fast conversion of such countries into industrially developed ones. Despite a number of major efforts they have almost no sectors producing capital goods; their enterprises manufacturing semifinished goods are weak. Foreign trade remains Western-oriented and unequal. Intraregional economic relations are weak (less than 10 percent of foreign trade) and do not provide a base for cooperation or integration, which hinders political cooperation. The demographic boom is worsening open and hidden unemployment caused by socioeconomic factors.

Self-sufficiency with food has drastically diminished in the Near and Middle East. We note virtually everywhere a relative and even an absolute decline in agriculture. Even countries which were previously able to feed themselves have now become as a whole the biggest food importers in the world. A mass migration of the peasantry to the cities is taking place. Profit norms in trade and even in industry are several hundred percent higher than in agriculture, which hinders capital investments in that economic sector.

The crisis in the socioeconomic area, which coincided with the weakening of the petroleum boom, is worsening political instability. Local conflicts, fanned by the imperialist countries, are becoming more aggravated. The senseless fratricidal Iran-Iraq war alone has cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of people.

The task of finding a common denominator for the countries in the area is a difficult one, for it includes both the richest and the poorest countries in the world in per capita income; there are monarchies and republics, revolutionary democracies and theocracies; some countries follow the path of socialist orientation while others that of capitalism. At the same time, all of them share not only geographic features but a number of similar social structures and a common cultural and religious heritage and history in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. Even their problems of economic backwardness have many coinciding features, although the huge income of a

number of countries from petroleum exports creates the illusion of a high development level.

The defenders of the bourgeoisie invented the theory of "catching up development." They claim that the countries in the Near and Middle East will simply repeat within a compressed time segment the road of capitalism in the West and will soon join it as its integral although peripheral segment. However, naturally, the supporters of such a concept do not answer the basic question of the possibility of a successful, albeit historically short, progress on the way to capitalism. The simple reason is that no single example of this kind has ever been found. Even Turkey, which was one of the first Asian countries to try to "Westernize" and "modernize" itself in a European style by duplicating the bourgeois "model" and which became a country of medium developed capitalism in terms of a number of indicators, reached the penultimate decade of the 20th century in a situation of grave sociopolitical crisis.

Capitalist development in the Near and Middle East, which clashed with obstacles of such power, depth and variety and precapitalist traditional social systems and structures, proved to be so durable that a simple duplication of the West proved impossible. This was not a question merely of difficulties caused by skipping certain stages in the development of production forces and corresponding sociopolitical structures. It was rather due to the fact that the very "model" of dependent development leads a society which tries to follow it into the dead end of insoluble socioeconomic contradictions.

In this part of the world, capitalism appears in a variety of shapes or systems. The first of them is the direct heir to colonial capitalism: filial enterprises, branches of multinational corporations attracted to the area because of its rich natural resources, inexpensive manpower and advantageous geographic location. As the bearer of more or less "pure" capitalism, this system continues to exist in a society the overwhelming majority of which has not crossed the boundaries of traditional precapitalist production relations. Its very nature--earning maximal profits for foreign monopolies--presumes the plundering of the countries where it functions.

The second is the state-capitalist system. In the Near and Middle East the state not only sets the state-legal and administrative norms of capitalist development but itself acts as an entrepreneur by creating a state capitalist sector. Reforms and state-capitalist enterprise are promoted, on the one hand, by regimes which have still not abandoned their feudal or feudal-tribal base, ranging from the 19th Century Ottoman empire to present day Saudi Arabia. On the other, they are carried out by members of intermediary strata which have acceded to power and objectively represent the interests of the bourgeoisie. Even in countries following the way of capitalism the state makes most of the investments in industry and the infrastructure and controls a significant share of the foreign trade. The local national bourgeoisie either avoids industrial and entrepreneurial activities or carries them out a limited basis.



Middle Eastern state capitalism does not mean economic autonomy or the desire to acquire it. Its dependence on the West remains. The result is a hybrid of corrupt state apparatus and multinational corporations with their neocolonialist plundering policy, including deliberately inflated prices of delivered equipment, technologies and patents. For that reason the state-capitalist sectors and enterprises are frequently doomed to unprofitability and remain afloat by exploiting traditional economic sectors and the population at large with the help of the state apparatus or subsidies from petroleum revenue. State bureaucratism combined with corruption has become so widespread that any, even the best of resolutions passed "at the top" are either ignored or distorted in their implementation. The dominating position of the state in the economy of Near and Middle Eastern countries is not a feature of recent decades but rather the legacy of age-old traditions of a society in which private ownership never played a determining role.

The blending of the leadership of the state apparatus with the big mercantile-speculative and, sometimes, industrial and financial bourgeoisie has led in the Near and Middle East to the appearance of a phenomenon which some researchers describe as "state-monopoly capitalism" by analogy with the West. However, state-monopoly capitalism in the leading capitalist countries was the result of a lengthy development. It was the peak or the cone of a pyramid in a society in which a petite and middle-bourgeoisie had already been established. In the Near and Middle East, where the production base of capitalism and capitalist relations have not been completed, "state-monopoly capitalism" is an artificial structure as was clearly exemplified by monarchic Iran.

In prerevolutionary Iran the Shah and his family plundered, took bribes, and collected revenue from the stocks which they owned in virtually all big companies. The Pahlevi family, according to some sources, owned stock in 17 banks and insurance companies, 25 metallurgical enterprises, 45 construction and eight ore-mining companies, 10 companies for the production of construction materials, 43 food industry enterprises, etc. All of this was in addition to the shameless appropriation of large income from petroleum, a considerable share of which the Shah transferred abroad. Unquestionably, this was a kind of "supermonopoly" but based on Near and Middle Eastern despotism with feudal features and neocolonialist underlining. The only way in which we can refer to state-monopoly capitalism in such countries in the area is by adding the prefix "pseudo." This is a socioeconomic mechanism for plundering one's own population, established "from above" and hindering the development of a local bourgeoisie and a national capitalist system.

The petroleum factor has a tremendous impact on the socioeconomic and political situation in the area. It is indicative that the contemporary oil industry and, above all, its fantastically increased revenue could not fail to transform the oil producers by creating a phenomenon which, although a part of their societies, has distinctive features. This refers to the group of Arab countries with small populations but officially high per capita income.

The obvious striking characteristic of the ruling class in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf emirates is that the overwhelming share of their income is not the result of the preservation of private ownership of production tools



and means or feudal possessions. The wealth comes from the privileged position of a feudal-tribal upper crust sanctified by Islam and canonized by Islamic law, based on a state machinery whose upper echelon it represents and on a machinery for suppression, consisting of army, police, judiciary and vestiges of military-tribal organizations. The main source of income of the leadership in petroleum-producing monarchies is the appropriation with the help of the state of a one-of-a-kind land revenue earned from the development of huge petroleum deposits. Taking into consideration that this provides employment to a small number of workers (several tens of thousands jointly with the contracting companies), the share of the added product created through their toil would prove to be extremely miserable compared to the total value of the extracted "black gold." The feudal-tribal nobility has also begun to "turn bourgeois," by involving itself in land speculations, foreign trade deals and government contracts. Such activities, however, are secondary and derivative and are most frequently parasites living on petroleum revenue.

The ruling elite in the Arab petroleum countries has acquired yet another feature. While remaining essentially a feudal (although "bourgeoisified") class within its own countries, it has become a part of the international financial oligarchy. The huge funds invested in securities, banks, industrial and commercial companies and real estate in the United States and Western Europe has made it an influential financial group within the capitalist world, although the lack of cadres, banking machinery and experience make the actual influence and weight of such circles much lower than the size of their bank accounts would indicate.

Commerce, land speculations, contracts, residential construction and some industrial activities are the foundations for the growth of the bourgeoisie in petroleum-producing monarchies. The status of the large commercial companies in Arab society in the 1980s has already reached the status of influential Bedouin sheiks, although the wealth of the merchants is immeasurably greater. The origin of such funds is commercial-speculative. The local big bourgeoisie, like the ruling aristocracy, is largely subsisting on petroleum income and petroleum leases, appropriating a substantial part of such revenue in its secondary distribution.

It would be difficult to find a common scale of values in characterizing the petroleum monarchies and the level of development of capitalist relations within them. If we take as a criterion the share of income from capitalist-type enterprises (including petroleum extraction in the gross national product, Saudi Arabia and the emirates could have been described as "capitalist" in the past as well, which would have clearly conflicted with reality. If we speak of the percentage of people related to precapitalist systems, even at the beginning of the 1980s they accounted for more than one-half of the native Saudi population and a significant share of the emirate population. The form of distribution of petroleum income among the ruling classes also remains essentially precapitalist. Clearly, it would be logical to describe Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf emirates at the beginning of the 1980s as a feudal-capitalist society. Naturally, in such a society, in which capitalism has been superimposed on feudal-tribal relations, the semicaste structure has become more complex and social boundaries have been eroded and frequently eliminated.

The distorted and painful nature of the capitalist way in the Near and Middle East is such that the adjective "national" cannot always be applied even to the middle bourgeoisie. Its trade-speculative segment is getting rich from export-import operations or else it is parasitizing on the monopoly of high prices supported with the help of the state. Related to big Western capital, it becomes a mercantile bourgeoisie in the classical meaning of the term. Its industrial segment either prefers or is forced to build enterprises closely tied to the head enterprises of the corporations in developed capitalist countries. The level of modern technology and production deprives local capital of the possibility of creating independent and competitive plants and factories. Both assembly and processing enterprises are totally dependent on the technology, patents, standards, spare parts and repair facilities of mother-country corporations.

Egypt--one of the key and most heavily populated countries in the Near and Middle East--is a characteristic example in this sense. Its fate is doubly interesting. On the one hand, it is a warning of the danger of a regress in a socialist-oriented country, particularly in the case of an inconsistent pursuit of a chosen course. On the other, it proves the failures and breakdowns caused by a return to capitalism. Some dangerous trends, similar to those which were the result of Sadat's counterrevolution, may be noted in a number of other countries. In this case the question of the ability and resolve of truly revolutionary democratic forces to counter such trends and to block a return to the path of dependent capitalist development assumes historical significance.

The conglomerate of social strata consisting of the "bourgeoisified" leadership of the administrative and military apparatus, the parasitical bourgeoisie and, partially, the middle bourgeoisie, the landowners and the strengthened kulak class became the social base of Sadat's regime. The unrestrained enrichment of these circles was also ensured by the rejection of Nasser's sociopolitical legacy and by the "open door" policy, which meant the uncontrolled following of a bourgeois way, dependent on the West, and zigzags in foreign policy. Although retaining some national functions, the state economic sector was put with increasing zeal in the service of the new ruling class and its self-seeking aspirations. During the decade of Sadat's rule Egypt failed to resolve the problems of its modernizing, healthy economic growth and social stability. Sadat's assassination was merely a dramatic manifestation of the crisis of his course, a demonstration and consequence of the increased social tension, multiplied by the national humiliation caused by the Camp David accords.

The members of the trade-speculative and bureaucratic bourgeoisie accumulated huge fortunes from export-import operations. Private investments in industry were insignificant and suffered from the old weaknesses and faults. Assembling enterprises or enterprises operating on a low technological level were built for the production of items which could subsequently be marketed at monopoly-high prices. Objective conditions for progress along the capitalist way hindered the development of a national bourgeoisie and aggravated existing socioeconomic problems.

The new role of junior partners or direct sociopolitical agents of the West leads most of the local bourgeoisie toward social and political conservatism in domestic and foreign policy. It no longer considers nationalism an appeal for liberation from foreign domination but is increasingly turning into a means of stupefying the masses with chauvinistic zeal and setting some national groups against others. The crisis in the slogans of pan-Arabism and Arab unity we note is no accident. The direct threat of independence seems quite distant to the local bourgeoisie, for which reason it avoids any open political confrontation with the West. Actually, all of these currents blowing in the Near and Middle East do not exist in their "pure" aspect. Israel's aggressive policy, supported by the United States, is forcing even conservative governments to adopt anti-imperialist positions in a number of cases. Direct U.S. intervention, in turn, triggers particular fears and objections for the reason that close ties with Washington could discredit the power of the rich in the eyes of the popular masses which are anti-imperialist and anti-American.

The working class in Near and Middle Eastern countries has drastically grown numerically and organizationally. However, in virtually no country in the area (with the exception of part of the Turkish proletariat) has it turned from a "class within itself" into a "class for itself." In this case the relatively "satisfactory" situation of the workers (particularly in modern production), compared to the mass of poor and landless peasants and the so-called "marginal" strata--the lumpens, the partially and totally unemployed and the artisans and the fact that the main employer is the state, together with the influence of traditional ideology, plays a certain role in this case.

On the one hand, the appearance of petroleum money in the Near and Middle East accelerated the process of class formation and differentiation; on the other, it deformed and lubricated it. This applied both to petroleum-producing countries and to the area as a whole, for the outflow of manpower and influx of petroleum capital in the trade-speculative, banking and house-building areas affect the other countries as well.

Capitalist relations are also developing in the countryside where the bulk of the population continues to reside. A stratum of prosperous farmers is developing, sometimes described by Arab economists with the Russian term "kulaks." The landowners are developing the features of capitalist farmers. In frequent cases, however, the very fact of working for the market does not mean in itself the destruction of the precapitalist farming method, sharecropping in particular, or archaic forms of socialist relations (family, tribe, rural community, religious community or sect). Low returns on invested capital and foreign competition slow down the development of production forces in agriculture and the use of capitalist production relations. Millions of workers are squeezed out of agriculture as a result of the demographic explosion and initial mechanization. Migration to the cities is increasing.

The production base of precapitalist traditional social structures in Near and Middle Eastern countries is experiencing tremendous pressure caused by the competition of contemporary production facilities, domestic and foreign. At the same time, it is also experiencing the impact of new means of communications and information and the totality of relations of society



undergoing modernization. The older structures, however, remain durable and capitalist modernization affects a minority of the population. This applies not only to the countryside, to the roots of precapitalist relations, so to say, but to the city as well. The low and most numerous trade-artisan preproletarian ("marginal") population strata and the large groups related to traditional service industries do not necessarily and always give birth to capitalism. The reason is not only because the desire for preservation and self-reproduction is inherent in any social structure but also because the democratic development of capitalism "from below" is suppressed both "from above" by predatory, parasitical state-bureaucratic and semifeudal capitalism as well as from the outside--through the competition of developed Western capitalism. In the new sociohistorical and economic conditions the obsolete production relations and their corresponding social structures are reproduced although occasionally in a sickly deformed manner. This is exemplified by the durable (albeit changed) preservation of medieval shops and guilds in the Arab and Iranian bazaars, their links with the clergy and the persistent observance of religious law in contrast to legislation borrowed from the West.

The traditional social structures in the cities are steadily preserved or expanded by yesterday's peasants who, uprooted from their usual way of life, reinforce the low and the middle strata of the urban population. Oppressed and clinging to their old economic and social relations, they find themselves in a political vacuum. They are hostile to despotic regimes and the governmental machinery which exploits and suppresses them mercilessly. Their interests are not those of liberal-bourgeois parties or the ideas of bourgeois modernizing, for the latter embody the hated West and a way of life they reject. However, they also frequently reject socialist or revolutionary democratic ideas and ideals or a socialist development. This is mainly because such ideas have been presented to them in a distorted aspect and, secondly, simply because the members of these strata have not as yet freed themselves from the chains of medieval ideology. They have not become "ripe" for the adoption of contemporary sociopolitical development programs.

However, social progress, nurtured by increasing social inequality, economic difficulties, the corruption of the regime, national and human indignity and alienation, seeks an outlet. This creates suitable grounds for a considerable segment of the population to turn to religion--not only to rituals, faith practices and family law (in this sense the influence of religion has never disappeared or, rather, never weakened), but also to sociopolitical practices dressed in religious garb. The stepchildren of capitalist modernization see in the spiritual values of Islam adequate humanistic, ethical and social ideals and a form of protest against existing socioeconomic and political conditions. Traditional Islamic values are adopted as national-specific features which offer possibilities of a revival or return to the "golden age of Islam."

Historically, Islam has meant not only rituals, dogmas or cultural features. It has imbued or sanctified social institutions and special forms of ownership, a political and socioeconomic structure, law, philosophy and social psychology. It has been and largely remains a way of life of hundreds of millions of people and is one of the most powerful and durable religious-ideological systems in a class-oriented society. It is consistent with the



traditional social structures which have been subjected to destructive but not as yet mortal blows dealt by modernization or new capitalist relations.

A significant share of the population in Muslim countries is directly or indirectly related to precapitalist systems and is predominantly illiterate. In some cases it sees in religious traditions, customs and institutions the only forms of social life and consciousness with which it is familiar. It finds it natural to express its sociopolitical aspirations and objections to the oppression of imperialism and colonialism through religion. V. I. Lenin wrote that "political protest under a religious mantle is a phenomenon inherent in all nations at a given stage in their development...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works, vol 4, p 228).

However, it is not only the masses deprived of access to education but many members of the educated strata in Muslim countries who are unable to reconcile their modern way of life with the ideals of bourgeois society borrowed from the West. The exploiting classes use religion to justify and preserve their privileges and to sanctify with the dogmas of Islam a system of oppression of the majority by the minority. They unite and sometimes blend with clerical circles in order to draw the masses away from their struggle against oppression and exploitation through joint efforts.

"A liberation struggle may develop under the banner of Islam," the accountability report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress reads. "This is confirmed by historical experience, including the most recent. However, this same experience also proves that Islamic slogans are used by the reaction as well in promoting counterrevolutionary mutinies. Consequently, the crux of the matter is the real meaning of one movement or another." The accuracy of this definition is not exclusively confirmed by the events in Iran or the situation in Pakistan. The "Muslim Brotherhood," which is against "Westernization," may oppose Sadat's regime in Egypt, the socialist-oriented regime in Syria or the revolutionary-democratic government in Afghanistan, playing objectively or subjectively the role of direct agent of imperialism in the last two cases. The antigovernmental action in Mecca in 1979, which involved the occupation of the Big Mosque, was the work of the "superorthodox," who saw in returning to the "purity of true Islam" a slogan in the struggle against the contemporary Saudi regime and against American influence.

In rejecting the Western capitalist "model" of development, as discredited, but also equally rejecting socialism, the modern Near and Middle Eastern "populists" and religious reformers are seeking their own special path of development. The concept of "Islamic economy" has appeared. It forbids payment of interest, calls for religious taxation and "harmonious combination" of private, state and cooperative ownership, "partnership" between labor and capital and economic activities governed by religious law. However, life has confirmed that wherever such experiments have been made they have simply been paid for out of oil revenues which support an economy which, although partially, operates on the basis of Muslim norms formulated centuries ago.

As it penetrates into the developing countries of the Near and Middle East, capitalism introduces into their societies its usual faults: production

anarchy, crises, unemployment and new sharp social contracts. The countries in the area simultaneously contain systems, social structures and ideologies belonging to different historical ages. The contradictions of dependent capitalism, not a juncture, but a division between different stages of social development, predetermine sociopolitical conflicts in most unexpected forms. They are as varied as the social strata. They encompass a broad spectrum of sociopolitical movements, from religious reform to socialist trends and from local "populists" to bourgeois liberals. Such externally incompatible forces may temporarily find a common platform, such as anti-imperialism. Subsequently, however, they break down into antagonistic reciprocally destructive coalitions holding onto different basic sociopolitical concepts.

In the light of the contemporary requirements of social progress, the path of dependent capitalist development turns out to be a dead end. The efforts of the social forces representing traditional social structures to abandon the Western bourgeois "model" by moving backwards provides no solution. True progress can be achieved only as a result of profound revolutionary-democratic changes in the interest of the masses and with their support in all areas of economic, social and political life.

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## WORLD WAR I: LESSONS IN HISTORY

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[Article by Prof I. Krivoguz, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] World War I, which left deep marks in the history of mankind, broke out 70 years ago, on 1 August 1914. More than 30 countries became involved in this armed confrontation which lasted more than 4 years and in which mass destruction weapons--machine guns, powerful rapid-fire guns, poison gases, aircraft and tanks--were used on a wide scale for the first time. As a result some 10 million people were killed and approximately 20 million were maimed. Tremendous material resources were expended and destroyed, leading to hunger, poverty, demoralization and wild behavior, a decline in the birthrate and epidemics. Considerable harm was caused to human civilization.

It was already then, nearly 7 decades ago, that V. I. Lenin formulated the main global problem of our time: "the preservation of human society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 400). After its appearance, this problem, which directly touched upon the basic interests of all nations, has grown even further and has definitely gained priority in recent decades.

World War II (1939-1945) far exceeded the Great War in terms of destruction. The destruction it caused shook up the foundations of civilization. The "local conflicts" which have broken out after 1945, have cost the lives of more millions of people. A nuclear war, which the U.S. imperialists who are striving to achieve world hegemony, are threatening to unleash on mankind, could lead to the destruction of the very conditions for human existence.

However different the scale of World War I may be from the nuclear catastrophe which today threatens all mankind, and despite the profound changes which have taken place over the past 70 years, the origins of both are found in imperialist aggressiveness. Due to the fact that, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko points out, the situation in the world remains extremely dangerous, the study and lessons of the initial stage of what has now become the main global problem of our time are not only of purely scientific but of tremendous ideological-political significance. It is no accident that the evaluation of the reasons and nature of World War I and the positions held by the different

social and political forces at that time remain the subject of sharp ideological struggle.

This struggle started literally from the very first days of the war. The ruling Austro-Hungarian circles attacked Serbia under the banner of antiterrorism. In entering the war, the Kaiser's government claimed to be defending "European civilization" from "Russian barbarism," and was forced to defend itself against France, Russia's ally, while at the same time "punishing" England for its treachery for it had failed to meet the Kaiser's hope that it would remain neutral. Britain opposed Germany under the pretext of defending the neutrality of Belgium, violated by the "Teutons." The French government called for defending the country from a new German invasion and to paying back Germany for the defeat it had inflicted on France several decades previously. The tsarist government appealed to stand up "For Faith, Tsar and Fatherland" and in defense of the fraternal Slavic peoples.

Profiting from the lack of understanding by the working people of their own interests, the ruling circles of these countries concealed behind slogans of "Defending the Fatherland" their actual objectives. They speculated on patriotism, encouraged nationalism and poisoned the masses with the toxin of chauvinism.

Historiography, which expresses the common and the individual interests of the various groups of exploiting classes, has supplied a number of different evaluations of the reasons for and nature of the 1914-1918 war. Numerous works have been published which have quite sharply exposed the aggressive objectives of the enemy, whose fighting was declared aggressive and unjust in order more reliably to conceal the aggressive objectives of the ruling circles of their own country and to proclaim "their own" war as a just defensive war. Although the spreading of reciprocal exposures weakened, in the final account, the positions of the bourgeoisie as a whole, some bourgeois circles in different countries are still trying to support such chauvinistic concepts. Some whitewash the "Western democracies," while others praise the Kaiser's Germany.

Soon after World War I started works were published in which the reasons and nature of the war were explained in terms of the dangerous aspirations of individual political leaders or the interests not of the bourgeoisie, the financial oligarchy or the monopolies but the feudal classes and the monarchies and "feudal imperialism." This trend, which was supported by some social reformists, was an effort to conceal the main reasons for the war, to distort its nature and to exonerate capitalism from its responsibility for the death of millions of people and the destruction.

Starting with the second half of the 1920s a considerable share of bourgeois historiography of World War I, which supported a revision of the Versailles system and the unity of imperialist countries against Soviet Russia, began to exaggerate the "responsibility" of Serbia and the importance of Russo-German contradictions, while belittling the role of other factors, and justifying the war which Germany and its allies waged in the Eastern part of Europe. Arguments between proponents and opponents of revising the results of World War I drew attention away from its true reasons and nature.



Finally, starting with the 1950s, the evaluation given by bourgeois historiography of the reasons and nature of the 1914-1918 war began to be increasingly slurred over with the "exposure" of a variety of heterogeneous and reciprocally balancing "factors," which made it possible to deny the responsibility for the war of any one government and of capitalism as a whole. The purpose was to promote the triumph of "Atlantic solidarity." Furthermore, it revived tendencies to explain the reasons for the war by a "biological theory," and fabrications of the innate militancy of people, to whom allegedly "war brings joy" and "human pride and weakness," "collective passions" and, finally, references to the "power of blind faith" and the "tragedy of errors" committed by individual leaders, not one of whom, allegedly, wanted war.

The disparity of frequently incompatible bourgeois evaluations of the reasons and nature of World War I have a common base: methodological eclecticism, relativism and agnosticism. Such methodology allows the light-handed rewriting of the history of the war and the reinterpretation of its reasons and nature in accordance with circumstantial considerations and the ideological political requirements of the imperialist countries. Naturally, bourgeois historiography has put into scientific circulation tremendous factual data and provided an accurate interpretation of a large number of events. It also includes works, whose authors (H. Halgarten, F. Fisher, I. Heys and others) have been able to reach an accurate assessment of the reasons and nature of World War I by surmounting such trends to a certain extent. However, reactionary trends in its interpretation retained the upper hand.

Unlike the reactionary trends in bourgeois historiography, historical science guided by Marxist-Leninist methodology has clarified the true reasons and nature of World War I. By exposing the economic, political and ideological nature of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, Lenin concluded that "'world domination' is, in brief, the content of imperialist policy the extension of which is imperialist war" (op. cit., vol 30, p 85). The desire for world domination under the conditions of intensified uneven capitalist development at the turn of the 20th century, inherent in monopoly capital and the financial oligarchy, led, as Lenin proved, to the aggravation of the struggle among the individual countries for the redivision of the world and to the outbreak of the world war. Lenin, who scientifically substantiated this concept, accurately defined not only the external but the internal objectives of the imperialist, as well as the reasons for and nature of the war. "The seizure of land and the conquering of other nations, bankrupting competing nations, plundering their wealth, drawing the attention of the toiling masses away from domestic political crises in Russia, Germany, Britain and other countries, the division and national duping of workers and destroying their vanguard with a view to weakening the revolutionary movement of the proletariat," he wrote in September 1914, "is the only real content, significance and meaning of the present war" (op. cit., vol 26, p 15). This profound definition of the nature and character of World War I, refuting the fabrications of imperialist ideologues, was confirmed by subsequent fundamental studies made by an entire cohort of Marxist historians (M. Pokrovskiy, V. Khvostov, I. Mints, F. Notovich, V. Bovykin, A. Yerusalmitskiy, A. Narochnitskiy, K. Vinogradov, Yu. Pisarev, A. Silin, I. Rostunov, M.

Zhivanovich, V. Bartel', Zh. Frevil', V. Gotleib, and others) as well as secret government documents which have come to light.

The determination of the true reasons for and nature of the 1914-1918 war and the imperialist peace with which it ended proved that aggressiveness and wars are organically inherent in imperialism to an even greater extent than in other stages of rule by exploiting classes. The almost continuous wars against the peoples of colonies and dependent countries, starting with the U.S. war against the people of the Philippines (1899) and the armed intervention of the imperialist powers in China at the turn of the 20th century, were manifestations of imperialist aggressiveness; another manifestation of this intrinsic feature of the higher stage of capitalism was the conflicts and wars among the imperialist countries themselves, such as the Spanish-American War of 1898, the Russo-Japanese War and World War I. A third manifestation of the same aggressiveness was the war which the imperialists waged on the first state of workers and peasants in the world. It was the imperialists as well who unleashed World War II, in the course of which the shock force of world reaction--fascist Germany and its satellites--tried to destroy the USSR. Under contemporary conditions, imperialist aggressiveness is manifested in waging "local wars" and, above all, in preparations for a nuclear war with a view to restoring its global hegemony and destroying world socialism and the other progressive forces.

Lenin and his followers determined not only the general responsibility of imperialism for the annihilation of millions of people and the tremendous destruction caused in World War I but also the specific responsibility of the ruling circles of the individual countries and their leaders. The initiative of the Kaiser's government in unleashing the World War at a suitable time--the summer of 1914--and its objectives--the crushing of its main competitor, Great Britain, and the defeat of France and Russia, establishing its rule over Europe and seizing colonies and redividing to its advantage the spheres of influence of the vanquished countries--were exposed. The provocative line of the British government, which hoped to defeat its main rival--Germany--with the help of its allies was made clear. The role of the ruling French circles, which dreamed not only of revenge but of increasing their territories and colonies at the expense of Germany and achieving hegemony in Europe, was made clear. The antipeople's policy of tsarism, followed by that of the bourgeois Provisional Government, which tried to expand their positions and the realm of influence of Russian imperialism, brought to light. The adventurist policy of the rulers of the Hapsburg Empire, who were trying to strengthen their positions and their rule on the Balkan, was exposed. It was established that the Belgian resistance to the German forces which had violated the neutrality of their country and the liberation struggle waged by the Serbians against the Austro-Hungarian invasion were subordinated to the predatory plans of the imperialist countries. The exposure of the falseness of the various slogans of "defense of the fatherland" and the imperialist objective they concealed between 1914 and 1918 were a major historical lesson, relevant in interpreting the meaning of today's slogans of defense of "human rights," religion, democracy, safety and "vital interests" of the United States and its allies.

The objective study of the mechanism of preparations for and unleashing of World War I is of equally topical significance. Despite the efforts of

bourgeois historiography to misrepresent these processes, it has been established that the political preparations for the 1914-1918 World War consisted of the formation of two opposite blocs--the German-Austro-Hungarian and the Entente; the military preparations consisted of increased militarization and arms race; the ideological preparations consisted of fanning nationalism and chauvinism. The increasingly sharper and frequent conflicts--from the Boer and the Russo-Japanese to the Balkan War of 1913 and the growing international tension were symptomatic of the approaching conflict for the redivision of the world.

These features proved characteristic also of the imperialist policy in subsequent decades and the preparations for and outbreak of new predatory wars. The alliance among the fascist countries at the end of the 1930s clashed with Britain and France and, subsequently, the United States for the purpose of redividing the world. The NATO military-political aggressive bloc, which was created 35 years ago by the United States and the imperialist countries in Western Europe, was established no longer for the redivision of the world but for the destruction of the USSR, the other socialist countries and the liberation movement. By coordinating the policy of aggression of the largest capitalist countries and the three main citadels of imperialism--the United States, Western Europe and Japan--their ruling circles are trying to establish today a system of agreements by holding conferences such as the recent meeting by the heads of the seven countries, which took place in London. The military-political blocs and agreements by the imperialist countries are a means of preparations for predatory wars on world socialism and the liberated countries and the progressive forces within the citadels of imperialism itself.

The advent of the highest stage of development of capitalism was based on intensified militarism, which was used particularly extensively by the imperialists in 1914-1918 not only against other countries but against the peoples of their own countries and the liberation movement of the toiling masses. At the same time, the increased production of armaments, which leads to the destruction of production forces, became a source of the highest possible earnings for the sake of which the monopolies, violating patriotism, frequently supplied arms even to the enemy.

Militarization and the arms race in the imperialist countries increased extensively and intensively during the period of preparations for World War II. Their characteristic features intensified. Fascism made militarization and the arms race the linchpin of its sociopolitical program.

After World War II the pace of militarization and the arms race, which imperialism related to the scientific and technical revolution, increased comprehensively and led to the creation of means capable of destroying all life and civilization. It was on this basis that the cosmopolitan military industrial complex was established and assumed a dominant position in the citadels of imperialism. In extracting huge profits by increasing the production and improvement of armaments, it became the main opponent of detente and disarmament and the support of the most aggressive imperialist circles who aspire to global hegemony at all cost. "Programs for arms race of unparalleled scope, the creation and development of nuclear weapons above all,



have been placed at the service of this imperial course of military superiority and of imposing their order on other nations," Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out.

In World War I the nationalistic and chauvinistic concepts of the civilizing mission of the "white man," gaining "lebensraum" and ensuring the superiority of the "Aryan race" or the Anglo-Saxons over other nations, and so on, developed at the turn of the century, became widespread in World War I. Even some of the workers became infected with chauvinism. The ideological preparations for World War II demanded of the imperialists a considerable renovation and improvement of means of influencing the masses. Fascist ideology combined racial hatred with pathological anticommunism and social demagoguery.

A substantial part of the fascist ideological arsenal continued to be used by the imperialists during the cold war waged on world socialism and the communist movement, the defeat of fascism notwithstanding. The most reactionary and aggressive imperialist circles are still trying to justify their hegemonistic course, aggression and preparations for nuclear war with the same caveman attitude toward communism, and slogans of "crusade" against the "concentration of global evil" as represented by world socialism and against atheism and "international terrorism" by which they mean the liberation struggle waged by the peoples and fabrications about the aggressiveness and military superiority of the USSR.

The imperialist "logic" and phraseology of the instigators of World War I is still extensively and comprehensively used by the most aggressive circles in local wars and with a view to preparations for nuclear warfare.

Thus, in July 1914 the Austro-Hungarian government imposed its control over Serbia under the pretext of the struggle against terrorism. Today the Reagan administration is trying to destroy the revolution in Nicaragua, to suppress the liberation movements and to blockade the other socialist countries under the banner of the struggle against terrorism. The Kaiser's government motivated its declaration of war on Russia on 1 August 1914 with the need to prevent the preparations for war which Russia had initiated. Today the U.S. ruling circles and NATO leaders justify the formulation of their plans for preventive nuclear strike and refusal to follow the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact members in assuming the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear and conventional weapons with fabrications of Soviet aggressiveness and military superiority. The hypocritical defense of Belgium's neutrality was the reason for which England declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914. Under the pretext of some kind of violation of balance, the United States and its allies are sending troops to various parts of the world, arbitrarily proclaiming them areas of "vital interest:" in Lebanon, Grenada, the Persian Gulf, and Chad. Like Wilhelm II, who called in his time for "punishing" England, the leaders of some countries are today blabbering about the need to "punish" Libya, Iran or Argentina by armed force.

The characteristic features of imperialist aggressiveness, which became apparent during the preparations for and the conflict among the countries for the redivision of the world in 1914-1918, are manifested in the second half of



the 20th century far more extensively and clearly. This is one more unquestionable proof of the fact that the threat to the existence of mankind, which first appeared as a result of imperialist aggressiveness 70 years ago, has been increasing steadily and has now reached a critical point as a result of the intensified general crisis of capitalism.

World War I, which revealed and aggravated all social contradictions and which broke out by the fault of imperialism, was, as Lenin said, "the greatest possible historical crisis" (op. cit., vol 26, p 102). The problem of preserving the very conditions of human life, which was triggered by this crisis and which subsequently gained priority with the further growth of imperialist aggressiveness, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized, is inseparable "from global social contradictions and the development of the class struggle." That is why the study of all social contradictions, the development of the class struggle and the assessment of the social forces which oppose aggression is of major importance.

To this day this complex set of problems remains the target of ideological and theoretical struggle. Bourgeois and social reformist historiography has done a great deal to distort the nature of the social forces and contradictions and the class struggle waged between social forces and the social contradictions and the class struggle of that period. Their common feature is belittling the role and significance of the forces capable of counteracting the preparations for, unleashing, broadening, protracting and exacerbating imperialist slaughters and rejecting the possibility of a revolutionary withdrawal from war. Revolution is considered a historical accident, and a result less of the forces of the revolutionary movement than the helplessness of the ruling classes. The lessons they draw are invariably reduced to chaos, defeat, dislocation, civil war and the worsened situation of the masses and their purposes is to caution the people against the use of revolutionary experience.

Historiography also presents as a common feature of such trends blindness concerning the basic fact that starting with the 20th century objective prerequisites for socialism have existed in the capitalist countries and that the main problem of social progress has been the establishment of the subjective factor--a revolutionary force able to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and establish the power of the working class and its allies.

The tendency to consider military and diplomatic actions separately from socioeconomic and even domestic policy problems traditionally predominates in bourgeois historiography. Even bourgeois authors who sympathize with the people's hardships most frequently lay the blame on the enemy and usually avoid explaining internal antagonisms and belittle the depth of class contradictions and the power of people's actions, reducing their reasons exclusively to the difficulties caused by the war. Many German historians, for example, have tried to hold the revolutionary movement responsible for their country's defeat.

Social reformist historiography pays far greater attention to socioeconomic and domestic policy problems. However, it belittles the antiwar feelings and actions of the working people and the extent of their class consciousness. This is a justification of the refusal of the majority of heads of the social

democratic parties to follow the revolutionary line earmarked at the congresses of the Second International. The cooperation between the social reformists and the imperialists in their own countries is described as "peace" and support of the war is presented as a necessary adaptation to changed conditions and moods of the masses. The "integration of the socialist movement with the capitalist state" is explained as being in the national interest and the reason for the division within the working class is ascribed to the "terrible revolution in Russia," which remains the term the right-wing social reformists applied to the October Revolution. For a long time, social reformist publications maintained total silence on the subject of the collapse of the Second International or else described it as a new phase of development. In recent years the collapse of the Second International has been admitted by social reformist authors. However, they continue to reject the responsibility of the opportunists for this collapse and, as before, trace the initiated split in the international labor movement to the creation of the Comintern. They slanderously blame the revolutionary social democrats, the bolsheviks above all, for this division.

As a social phenomenon closely related to the development of the class struggle, the world war which broke out in 1914 was comprehensively studied by Lenin and his followers. The historical meaning and significance of the crisis triggered by World War I were brought to light with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which marked the beginning of the contemporary age. World War I was the division between two ages: the age of unchallenged domination of capitalism, which had entered the higher stage in its development in the 20th century, and the age of transition to socialism and communism. Before October Lenin had written of the stockpiling of "fuel" in world politics and described the turn of the 20th century as the age of imperialism, using the term "age" as a phase, a stage of a specific socioeconomic system (see op. cit., vol 25, p 264), characterizing it as the threshold and beginning of national liberation struggles and great revolutionary battles of the proletariat and as the eve of the socialist revolution. "...We," he pointed out in 1915, "live at the borderline separating two epochs" (op. cit., vol 26, p 141). He used the term "epoch" as a comprehensive description of the profound changes which had taken place, particularly in the ratio among classes. Sometime after the October Revolution he quite clearly said that "the destruction of capitalism and its remnants and laying the foundations of a communist order are the content of that new epoch in universal history which has now begun" (op. cit., vol 41, p 425). This profound definition of the essence of our age has been confirmed by the entire subsequent development of mankind.

However, the hopes that a socialist revolution would win quickly in 1918-1919 were not justified in many countries. Imperialism, in the world domination by which a huge gap had appeared, was able to preserve its dominant positions. It became more aggressive and undertook preparations for a new world war whereas the inevitable new revolutions ripened relatively slowly. Taking this feature of the first period of the contemporary age into consideration, the Comintern described it as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions."

The establishment of a world socialist system as a consequence of a number of socialist revolutions, the substantial change in the ratio of forces on earth in favor of peace, democracy and social progress, imperialism's loss of its dominant role in global developments and the appearance of the possibility of preventing war enabled the communist parties jointly to develop the Leninist concept and to proclaim that "our age, the main content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is an epoch of struggle between two conflicting social systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions, an epoch of collapse of imperialism and elimination of the colonial system, and an epoch of transition to the path of socialism by more and more new nations and of the triumph of socialism and communism on a global scale."

World War I was the concluding part of the first period in the development of imperialism, which was substantially different from the development of capitalism which preceded it by the ripening of prerequisites for socialism and the scope of the liberation movement and, even more so, by the years which followed which, thanks to the October Revolution, marked the beginning of a different, a contemporary age characterized by the growth of socialism and intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. This period can be considered with full justification as the eve of the contemporary epoch the threshold of which was the tragedy of World War I.

Lenin and his followers comprehensively explained the place of the 1914-1918 war in the development of society. The war brought about the intensification of the basic contradiction of capitalism and the increased maturity of the material prerequisites for socialism. In assessing the accelerated growth of state monopoly capitalism and rejecting the efforts of social reformists to identify its development with a transition to socialism, Lenin wrote: "It was precisely the war which proved how ripe contemporary society had become for a transition to socialism...." (op. cit., vol 30, p 347).

This maturity of prerequisites for socialism was in glaring contrast to the bloody behavior of the imperialists who gambled with the destinies of millions of people, nations and countries. All social contradictions intensified as a result of the war: between the working class and the bourgeoisie to begin with, between the urban and rural middle classes and their exploiters and, finally, among the various bourgeois strata. It revealed the commonality of interests of all the exploited against the exploiters and, above all, against the financial oligarchy, state-monopoly capitalism and military dictatorship. The war also intensified national contradictions between ruling and oppressed nations in Europe and elsewhere.

Despite the initial triumph of the chauvinists and the counteraction of the ruling classes and their accomplices, the increased number of casualties and the calamities of the war helped the people's masses to realize their true interests. The increased consciousness of the working people ensured the transition from passive opposition to antiwar actions and, subsequently, to active struggle against the imperialist governments and the existing order.

The responsibility of the social democrats particularly increased under such circumstances. Long before 1914, the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin,



together with the revolutionary social democrats in other countries, had been firmly opposed to imperialist aggression. The struggle they mounted against the imperialist Russo-Japanese War, which became one of the trends in the first popular revolution in Russia, was acknowledged by the entire Second International, which cited it as a historical example of the struggle waged by the proletariat against war. This contributed to the development of the antiwar movement by the Second International, the culminating point of which was the Basel Congress and the international mass demonstrations against the threat of war and the arms race in 1912. In emphasizing that "the only guarantee for peace is the organized conscious movement of the working class" (op. cit., vol 23, p 144), Lenin called for mobilization and joint actions against militarization by all progressive forces, including bourgeois pacifists, against the arms race and against preparations for and starting an imperialist war. If such a war were to break out, on the initiative of Lenin and the other revolutionary social democrats the Second International decided to use the crisis triggered by the war to accelerate the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, as was stipulated in the resolutions adopted at the Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basel congresses.

According to Lenin, the duty of the social democrats was for the "conscious vanguard of the proletariat to concentrate its thoughts and rally its forces in the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of its governments" (op. cit., vol 30, p 347). The revolutionary social democrats of all countries also considered this to be their duty, based on differences in objective conditions and the available forces, differing only in their assessments of specific opportunities and tactics.

Even prior to the October Revolution, the vanguard role of the Bolshevik Party in the international workers movement in World War I was expressed in the fact that, headed by Lenin, earlier and more systematically than the other revolutionary social democrats it defined and followed a revolutionary course consistent with changed circumstances. This course was drafted in accordance with the specific conditions in Russia. However, its theoretical foundations and most important features, comprehensively substantiated by Lenin, were of international significance. They were reduced to the fact that the inevitable intensification of the crisis triggered by the war would contribute to the growth of the consciousness and activeness of the masses and would lead to the ripening of a revolutionary situation in the belligerent countries. In order to make use of this situation in overthrowing capitalism a revolutionary organization had to be created, which could direct the desire of the peoples for peace and the overthrow of imperialist governments and rally the masses. This was to be the working class and its allies, who would ensure the victory of the proletarian revolution which, under such historical conditions, was the only guarantee for ending the imperialist slaughter. Under the conditions of a world war, when bourgeois rule increasingly relied on armed force and had assumed the form of military dictatorship, the revolutionary forces as well had to be armed: the armed soldiers' masses had to turn their weapons on the imperialists in their own country.

This line required a firm refusal to support the domestic imperialists and to develop against them a class struggle thus contributing to their defeat and to the failure of their aggressive plans. Unlike the imperialist policy of



setting one nation against another, the task was to strengthen their international solidarity and to organize their interaction in the struggle against the common enemy--the imperialists of all countries. The bolsheviks comprehensively encouraged the conversion of the passive wish for peace into active antiwar actions and the growth of such actions into a revolutionary movement, proving the inadequacy of pacifism under wartime conditions and the need for a decisive counteraction, including the use of armed force, against the bourgeois-militaristic regimes and imperialist aggressions. Lenin's conclusions on the maturity of prerequisites for socialism and the possibility of its victory initially within a single country and the need for a dictatorship of the proletariat offered extensive opportunities and ubiquitously unleashed the initiative of the revolutionary movement.

Russia's own revolutionary experience and example helped to lead the revolutionary social democrats along the same path and to formulate their own line consistent with their own countries and to strengthen their international solidarity. No repressive measures could prevent the growth of this revolutionary wave which expressed the basic interests of the working class and all working people.

The victory of the October Revolution put an end to unchallenged imperialist world domination and, after defeating its plans, the Russian working class made use of the new opportunities for pulling the lifeless and exhausted country out of the imperialist war and for opposing aggressive imperialist policy with the socialist foreign policy of the Soviet state, whose ideal was "an end to the war, peace among nations, and end to plunder and violence" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 26, p 304). This contributed to the comprehensive development of mass antiwar actions, the vanguard of which was the revolutionary movement against bourgeois-militaristic regimes, for democratization and equality among nations, for improving the situation of the working people and social justice and for solidarity with Soviet Russia.

All of this proved, first of all, the leading role of the working class in the antiwar movement of the masses which, for the first time in history, acquired at that time a broad range and, secondly, the law of the growth of the antiwar movement under the conditions of imperialist war into a revolutionary anti-imperialist movement for national and social liberation; thirdly, the possibility of the revolution winning under the conditions of a world war and, finally, the need to strengthen the international solidarity of the working people in opposing the imperialists in all countries on the basis of the proletarian internationalism which was developed at that time thanks to the interaction among the victorious working class in Russia and the revolutionary movements in other countries. Furthermore, the historical groundlessness of the line promoted by the opportunists was exposed.

Long before 1914, the opportunists in the Second International had tried to justify the colonial policy of imperialism by limiting the tasks of the labor movement merely to softening this policy. They tried to oppose the formulation of an antiwar course at the congresses of the Second International, ignoring the tie between the struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism, reducing the role of the working class in the antiwar movement and limiting its tasks to encouraging bourgeois pacifism and

agreements among imperialist countries. This was helped by the fact that most of the leaders of the worker parties were unable accurately to assess the changes which had taken place as capitalism entered its highest development stage and to define the nature, contradictions and objectives of imperialism, continuing to support the obsolete classification of wars into defensive and offensive.

On the eve of the 1914-1918 war the opportunists, who gained the upper hand in the International Socialist Bureau (ISB) and the leadership of most labor parties, disoriented the working people and hindered the development of a mass antiwar movement. Some of them ignored the decisions of the Basel Congress. Others claimed that the governments of the "civilized" countries were unwilling to wage war; others assumed that the new weapons which had been developed by that time were so destructive that no rulers would risk their use; another group instilled lack of faith in the forces of the proletariat and in the possibility of preventing the outbreak of the war, not to mention achieving a victorious revolution; finally, others tried to justify the policy of the imperialists of their own country, joining with the nationalists and the chauvinists. This greatly hindered the growth of the antiwar actions by the toiling masses after the Basel Congress, particularly during the July "crisis" of 1914 and the outbreak of the war. The position of the opportunists prevented the ISB, which urgently met in the last days of July, from indicating to the working people a task consistent with the revolutionary antiwar resolutions of the congresses.

When the world war broke out, the opportunists, who held the majority in the leadership of most social democratic parties, openly supported the imperialist governments of their countries. They proclaimed their war defensible and just and called for "civil peace" or an end of the class struggle for the duration of the war. Actually they helped the imperialists to take advantage of their own working people for purposes of enrichment and victory.

As a result, the Second International split into hostile worker parties of the opposing imperialist coalitions. Most of the worker parties of the neutral countries had also decided to act in support of "their own" bourgeoisie for the sake of preserving neutrality, and declared "class peace." Lenin described the line taken by all of these parties as social chauvinism: socialism in words and chauvinism in action. It was thus that the Second International broke down as a result of the victory of social chauvinism in most of its parties. In itself, this led to the division of the international working class among the imperialist bloc and groups of neutral countries.

However, the gap between the opportunistic social chauvinist trend and the revolutionary trend within the labor movement in the individual countries proved to be even wider. The essence of opportunism had always been the desire to satisfy the interests of the working class without overstepping the limits of capitalism but by cooperating with the ruling bourgeoisie. Its growth into social chauvinism meant subordinating the working class to imperialism and becoming the accomplice of militarism in the hope of gaining a certain share of the booty from the aggressive war. This was an open betrayal of the basic interests of the working class and the principles of socialism and proletarian internationalism. This was confirmed by the refusal of the

social chauvinists to observe the revolutionary antiwar resolutions passed at the congresses of the Second International.

The social chauvinists, who were in the majority in most worker parties, ensured, sometimes with the help of the police, the obedience of the revolutionary social democrats. They hypocritically called for unity. As a result, the revolutionary social democrats were faced with the choice of either obeying the social chauvinists or being expelled from their parties. The split between the revolutionary and the opportunistic trend, which had begun with the aggravation of the struggle between them toward the end of the 19th century, had now entered its decisive stage. It became impossible to defend the basic interests of the working class, grossly violated by the imperialists with the complicity of the social chauvinists and to observe the revolutionary antiwar resolutions of the congresses of the Second International without a definitive and total split with the social chauvinists. Therefore, whatever the specific circumstances under which one working party or another split, the historical responsibility for it was entirely that of the social chauvinists, who had betrayed the basic principles of the working class and socialism and the old revolutionary line of the Second International.

Therefore, as Lenin proved in his works, the dominance of opportunism in most labor parties in 1914, which was the result of the increased influence of imperialism on the working class and the labor movement, and the conversion of the latter at the outbreak of the world war into social chauvinism, led to the collapse of the Second International, its ideological and political bankruptcy and organizational breakdown, and the split within the labor movement.

Another confirmation of the groundlessness of social chauvinism as a result of the discontent shown by a considerable stratum of the organized working people with its policy was the fact that in 1915-1916 some of the leaders of labor organizations withdrew from the movement and took the positions of social pacifism: it was socialism in words and pacificism, which rejected the possibility of revolution, in deeds. By supporting antiwar actions, the social pacifists hindered their growth into revolutionary movements. They tried to prevent the developing revolution by putting an end to the war. Finally, another confirmation of the groundlessness of social chauvinism was the fact that its leaders themselves converted from unconditional support of the imperialist war to a program of imperialist peace which became the base for cooperation between social chauvinists and social pacifists in 1917-1918.

The social pacifists and even the social chauvinists welcomed the call of the Soviet republic for an end to the imperialist war. They could not ignore the mass movement of solidarity with it by the conscious toiling masses of all countries and the popularity of the ideas of the Great October Revolution. However, their persistent denial of the socialist nature of the October Revolution and the Soviet state and their fierce struggle against Lenin's ideas led to the intensification and completion of the ideological-political and organizational division within the international labor movement. By refusing to acknowledge the revolutionary principles of the Comintern, which rallied the revolutionary trend within the movement, and after a number of unsuccessful efforts to restore the Second International on the basis of



reciprocal forgiveness and the domination of opportunism, in 1923 these trends united within the Socialist Worker International, on a social reformist platform, which was a development of prewar opportunism as an alternative to the communist movement.

World War I, as a social phenomenon, and the class struggle which developed in the course of the war are, naturally, of a unique nature. However, the relevance of many lessons drawn from that period is unquestionable. In particular, the danger of underestimating the aggressiveness of imperialism and its ability to use any kind of weapons, however destructive they may be, is clear. This is confirmed by the experience of World War II, particularly the use by the United States of atom bombs on Japan, the use of chemical weapons by the United States in Vietnam in recent decades, and so on. No less dangerous are the illusions which are being spread regarding the "peaceableness" of the imperialist governments and hopes relative to their "civilized nature" and sensible restraint. Adventurism has long become a characteristic feature of imperialism. Therefore, such illusions and hopes, like a fatal disbelief in the ability of the working class and other progressive forces to prevent a war, merely weaken the energy of the masses and are actively used by the aggressors in pursuit of their own interests.

The radical difference between the contemporary world and the world on the eve of the 1914-1918 war is universally known. The drastic increase in the destructive power of mass destructive weapons and imperialist aggressiveness, on the one hand, and the strengthening of world socialism and all progressive forces, on the other, have led to changes in the correlation between the task of safeguarding peace and revolutionary reorganization and have turned the prevention of nuclear war into the prime international task of communists and of anyone aware of the catastrophic nature of such a war.

The prevention of nuclear war demands the intensive and coordinated efforts of all antiwar forces aimed, above all, against the most aggressive imperialist circles. The lack of necessary unity of action among worker organizations is particularly threatening. The lessons of the struggle of the proletariat and the antiwar movement during World War I as well as against fascist aggression and during the cold war period confirm the importance of achieving reciprocal understanding and interaction among worker organizations with different ideological and political orientations, such as communist, social reformist, bourgeois reformist, Christian democrats, etc., based on the interest shared by the working people and all mankind in preventing a nuclear war and ensuring a peaceful life for the nations. Achieving the necessary interaction among all forces which can oppose the most aggressive imperialist circles is largely determined by surmounting anticommunist prejudices as well as nationalism, chauvinism, racism and religious fanaticism which, as in the past, are used by the reaction in dividing and weakening the opponents of war.

Based on the tremendous experience gained by the world revolutionary movement, including the lessons of the struggle against World War I and creatively developing the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the communists in all countries consider today as their main international task the problem which arose during World War I and was clearly formulated by Lenin of safeguarding the existence of mankind. They are directing their efforts on preventing



nuclear war and promoting the energizing and unification of all fighters for peace. The Soviet state, which emerged at the outcome of World War I and which has become today the bulwark of the struggle for rescuing mankind from nuclear catastrophe, is the main obstacle on the path of imperialist aggression. By unanimously supporting the policy of the CPSU, aimed at achieving this objective, "the Soviet people," as Comrade K. U. Chernenko has pointed out, "are deeply convinced that peace can be preserved. The development of events may be turned back from confrontation to detente."

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## A GREAT LOVE OF THE PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 84 (signed to press 23 Jul 84) pp 109-110

[Review by V. Petrov, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the book "Vystrel v Serdtse Revolyutsii" [Shot in the Heart of the Revolution]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 287 pp]

[Text] "A Shot in the Heart of the Revolution" is a book recently published by Politizdat. It opens with revolutionary passion and inflexible confidence in the justice of the initiated cause, without concealing the concern felt for the life of the great leader but showing no confusion or dismay in the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] appeal signed by Ya. Sverdlov on 30 August 1918, and addressed "To All Soviets of Worker, Peasant and Red Army Deputies and All Armies, To All, All, All." The appeal announced that several hours previously a malicious attempt on the life of Comrade Lenin had taken place....

This took place when, after addressing a meeting of workers at the Mikhel'son Plant, Lenin was walking toward his car. He was seriously wounded by two poisoned bullets. On the same day right-wing SRs had assassinated M. Uritskiy in Petrograd and, even before that, they had killed V. Volodarskiy.

The appeal called upon all comrades to show total calm and organization and to rally even more their forces and ranks and intensify their struggle against the counterrevolutionary elements.

The eight chapters of the book, based on archive documents, facts, eyewitness testimony and newspaper reports of the period, recreate a detailed picture of the alarming events of that most difficult period in the maturing and struggle of the young Soviet republic against the predatory plans of the counterrevolution which had taken the path of bloody terrorism.

The news of this criminal attempt profoundly rocked the party and the Soviet people. A wave of profound indignation rolled throughout the country: in numerous meetings the working people of Russia drew up angry resolutions demanding the immediate punishment of the terrorists and the suppression of the bourgeois-landowning counterrevolution.

The book includes numerous telegrams, letters from collectives of workers, peasants and soldiers and statements by noted party and Soviet government leaders and foreign political and public personalities, confirming the great and sincere love of the working people for their leader and their heart-felt wishes for his fast recovery.

The vanguard of the Moscow proletariat--the metallurgical workers--profoundly shaken up by the horrible crime committed...on 30 August against the life of the deeply respected and beloved leader of the social global revolution Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, expressed their sincere sympathy for the great suffering experienced by Comrade Lenin and hope to see him once again in his responsible position.

"Any attempt on the life of its leaders will be answered by the revolutionary proletariat with merciless terrorism against all counterrevolution and the White Guard and right-wing SR scum," the workers in the capital wrote in their letter (p 107).

"The task of the moment imperatively demands of us to continue to organize the steely ranks of the Red Army," wrote the railroad workers of Tumskaya station, on the Moscow-Nizhny Novgorod railroad. "It demands the defense of the October Revolution, food grain detachments and rural poor committees, and we shall win....

"Long live our leader, Comrade Lenin!" (p 113).

The Red Army soldiers at the Astrakhan garrison sent "their fraternal greetings to their beloved worker leader" and "from the depths of their hearts best wishes for fast and full recovery." "We swear that we shall die," their resolution read, "but shall not allow the bourgeoisie to seize the power of the people...." (pp 122-123).

These letters are clear manifestation of the fact that the working people in the young republic had unconditional faith in the Soviet system, that they followed the bolsheviks and that they, in Lenin's words, "have come even closer...to the party of communists-bolsheviks, which is the true spokesman for the will of the people's masses" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 519).

As V. I. Lenin's biographic chronicle shows for 31 August 1918, after being told about such letters and telegrams, Il'ich pointed out that "the sympathy of the working class is healing him better than all medicines and doctors' consultations."

The materials collected in the book convincingly prove that the sad news of the malicious attacks on Lenin's life did not trigger any panic or confusion within the ranks of the proletariat, the defenders of the revolution and the bolshevik party. Workers and peasants worked in the rear with double energy, while the Red Armymen at the front displayed wonders of courage and heroism in the fierce struggle against the enemies of the Soviet system. It was precisely at that time that as a result of a successful offensive the Red Army liberated Kazan and Simbirsk. "The seizure of Simbirsk--my native town--is

the best medicine, the best bandage for my wounds," Lenin wrote in his answer to the soldiers of the first army. "I feel an unparalleled flow of cheer and strength" (op. cit., vol 37, p 95).

The official bulletins carried by the press on Vladimir Il'ich's health proved that his strong body was quickly coping with the wounds. Only a week after the attempt, Lenin was sending telegrams with instructions on military problems.

The authors cite specific examples proving that the anti-Soviet counterrevolutionary action prepared by the right-wing SR--the attempt on Lenin's life on 30 August 1918--was the shameful culmination of their conspiratorial activities directed at the very heart of the socialist revolution. The SR party thus degenerated into a gang of murderers and traitors of the great revolutionary cause, the cause of the working class and toiling peasantry.

In answer to the counterrevolutionary terrorism, on 5 September the Sovnarkom passed the decree "On Red Terror." It emphasized that under the conditions of the widespread terrorist actions on the part of the enemies of the socialist revolution, the use of Red terror against them is a direct necessity. The decree stipulated, in particular, the increased activities of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission and the strengthening of its ranks by assigning to it a greater number of responsible party comrades.

However, in terms of scale the Red terror cannot be compared to the White terror practiced by the counterrevolution. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that violence is not our ideal and that we are aspiring toward conciliation but are forced to apply terror (see op. cit., vol 37, pp 218, 222). Having seized political power, the proletariat and its party did not set as their objective the physical destruction of the enemy. "It is only after the exploiters, i.e., the capitalists had begun to develop their resistance that we began systematically to suppress it including the use of terror," Lenin pointed out (op. cit., vol 39, p 114).

The book notes that the revolutionary Red terror was applied on a rather limited basis and for a very short time and was forced as a response to the enemies of the revolution. Indeed, whereas the White Guards had shot and killed 22,780 people in the last 7 months of 1918 and on the territory of only 13 guberniyas, within the same time 4 times fewer counterrevolutionaries and criminals had been executed by the Cheka in 23 guberniyas, on the basis of court sentences (see p 9).

The materials in the book describe thoroughly, almost day by day, the alarming situation in the country after the attempt on the life of the leader, the steps taken by the party in the struggle against the enemies of the revolution and the universal joy and relief following the official report that the physicians had allowed Lenin to go back to work.

The newspapers published the last bulletin on Vladimir Il'ich's state of health, to which he added the following: "On the basis of this bulletin and



my feeling of wellness, I most humbly request that the physicians no longer be bothered with telephone calls and questions" (p 185).

Lenin immediately plunged into the solution of the most important and urgent party and state problems. Soon afterwards, however, on the insistence of the physicians he went to Gorki to rest, not far from Moscow. The book points out that while in Gorki Lenin was in regular touch with the Kremlin. He received daily information, telegrams and other materials and worked on his book "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautskiy." He was always informed of the most important events within the country and abroad.

This book takes the reader back to one of the most difficult moments in the establishment of the young land of the soviets. It also describes its entire drama, complexity, gravity and inflexible unity which existed between the Bolshevik Party and the worker, peasant and soldier masses and their closest possible ties with the leader of the revolution. The book proves the great love of the working people for Lenin and their firm will and resolve to defend the gains of the October Revolution with dedication.

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ASPECTS, DISCUSSIONS, CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES;  
MARGINAL NOTES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 84 (signed to press 23 Jul 84) pp 111-117

[Article by V. Kuz'menko]

[Text] The policy of the communist party is based on Marxist-Leninist theory. This enables the CPSU properly to determine the condition and prospects of Soviet society at each of its development stages. "The purpose of our theoretical views," Lenin wrote, "is to guide us in our revolutionary activities. The best place in testing our theoretical views is the battlefield" ("Leninskiy Sbornik XXXVII" [Leninist Collection 37], p 249).

At the present stage the battlefield of the entire people is the comprehensive advancement of developed socialism. The stipulations and conclusions of the 24th to the 26th CPSU congresses on the developed socialist society, concretized in the subsequent Central Committee plenums, armed the party with a scientifically substantiated realistic strategy, which presumes above all the total resolution of the major and complex problem relative to the first phase of the communist system. This comprehensively weighed scientific approach characterizes the drafting of the new edition of the CPSU Program which will cover a historically lengthy period. "Under contemporary conditions," Comrade K. U. Chernenko says, "our program must be a program for the advancement of developed socialism. It is in the course of the advancement of developed socialism that the gradual progress toward communism will take place."

The elaboration of an integral concept of developed socialism is justifiably one of the true achievements of Marxist-Leninist thinking in recent times. In this respect our scientific establishments and social scientists, who are actively working on the problems of the theory and practice of scientific communism, deserve specific credit. However, the party considers that the help which the scientific institutions and the scientists in the various fields of the social sciences give it today could be even more thorough. Practical and constructive criticism was expressed at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum in connection with the condition of social science research, aimed at ensuring a new and significantly higher level of ideological-theoretical work in the area of the social sciences and their firm

turn toward problems raised by life. In this respect the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Upgrading the Role of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics in the Elaboration of the Crucial Problems of the Economic Theory of Developed Socialism" is of major significance, applicable not only to the science of economics. Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Drafting the New Edition of the CPSU Program calls for a decisive turn toward key ideological-theoretical and practical problems which face the party and the entire country.

The documents of the June Plenum and its long-term stipulations are an example of profound creative analysis of a number of topical problems of progress toward communism and skillful application of the dialectical-materialistic approach to their solution. They convincingly show the significance of the development of fundamental problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in order to reach a proper theoretical interpretation and ensure the successful practical application of our strategic task of improving developed socialism. One such problem is the contradictions existing within socialist society and their role at the present stage.

Contradictions are a crucial category in Marxist-Leninist dialectics. They are of essential significance in understanding the dynamics of developed socialism and the communist system as a whole. It was this that the June Plenum pointed out, noting that today we need a comprehensive study of the nonantagonistic contradictions inherent in mature socialism and the characteristics of their resolution under the conditions of an increasingly strengthening sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society. "As is the case with any social organism," Comrade K. U. Chernenko noted at the plenum, "here it is a question of the struggle between the new and the old, in which both constructive and negative trends are at work."

A starting point in the approach to the problem of contradictions is found in Lenin's familiar stipulation that "antagonism and contradictions are entirely different things. The first will disappear while the second will remain under socialism" ("Leninskiy Sbornik XI," p 357). Guided by this stipulation, the Soviet social scientists analyze the struggle between the old and the new and the progressive and the backward, establishing that these contradictions are nonantagonistic, for no hostile classes exist in our country and there is no exploitation of man by man and that they are resolved through the common efforts of the working people, guided by the party, which ensures the successful progress of society toward communism. Also noted is the role of criticism and self-criticism as a tried means of identifying and resolving such contradictions.

However, in addressing themselves to the problems of the sources and motive forces in the development of socialist society, philosophers have expressed a variety of opinions on the correlation between these concepts. Some consider them identical while others do not. In particular, it is frequently claimed that a contradiction is a social development without being its motive force. Some authors have given priority to unity within socialist society as the motive force of its development, totally ignoring contradictions. Thus, the collective monograph "Marksistsko-Leninskoye Ucheniye o Sotsializme i

Sovremennost'" [The Marxist-Leninist Theory of Socialism and Contemporaneity] (Politizdat, Moscow, 1975), express this viewpoint in characterizing the main features and aspects of socialism as the first phase of the communist system as follows: "The sociopolitical and ideological unity of socialist society is the most important motive force in its development" (p 127).

We see, therefore, that the consideration of the unity of socialist society outside of a dialectical connection with its contradictions has shunned aside the main problem, the problem of the "motive force," "source" and "motive" (Lenin) of its development. With this approach contradictions have found themselves on the margin of the attention of social scientists which, naturally, has not contributed in the least to the interpretation of the real problems and the means of resolving them. We believe that such an interpretation of the role of contradictions under socialism is related to the "flight" of theory, followed by propaganda away from reality and a certain anticipation in which social processes which determine the direct transition to communism as well as the mechanism for the development of its higher phase are interpreted equally wrongly. Naturally, in the process of transition to communism the contradictions which are typical of socialism will inevitably wither away. However, this is not to say that in its higher phase the new society will be free from all contradictions. Incidentally, this is not the first discussion held on the problem of contradictions and social unity in Soviet society. Starting with the 1930s this problem has been actively discussed whenever the party and the people have been faced with tasks related to converting to a higher communist phase. The course and outcome of such discussions have been quite thoroughly interpreted in the collective work "Istoriya Marksistskoy Dialektiki. Leninskiy Etap" [History of Marxist Dialectics. The Leninist Stage] (Mysl', Moscow, 1973; see Section 3 and particularly Section 4 in Chapter 6 "Dialectics in the USSR in the Period of Victorious Socialism and Gradual Transition to Communism").

An effort to revise the role of contradictions under socialism was made in the course of the latest discussion which took place over a number of years. It was claimed that at the developed socialist stage even a mention of the motive function of contradictions was erroneous. Suggestions were even made to reformulate the law of unity and the struggle of opposites for, it was claimed, Lenin's concept of the relative nature of the unity and absolute nature of the struggle of opposites was inapplicable to socialism, not to mention mature socialism, for which reason it was necessary to develop some kind of new dialectical concept different from the dialectics of antagonistic systems (see on this subject "Marksistsko-Leninskaya Teoriya Istoricheskogo Protsessa" [The Marxist-Leninist Theory of the Historical Process]. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, pp 251-252).

Discussions of scientific laws and categories are an indicator of active research. However, they are fruitful only if they are not scholastic and self-seeking and when they really add to our knowledge. Unfortunately, by no means all discussions today meet this requirement. Thus, a discussion on the main contradiction of socialism is still going on. The extent to which it has enriched science may be judged by the fact that its participants have finally agreed on the fact that each system, including communist, could have only one (!) basic contradiction. However, the following question arises: Are we



substantially advancing if we consider as the basic contradiction of socialism a contradiction inherent in all socioeconomic systems between production forces and production relations?

The fact that this is not a meaningless question is confirmed by the discussion on contradictions under socialism, which was recently debated in the journal VOPROSY FILOSOFII. It was triggered by the articles, respectively, by V. S. Semenov "The Problem of Contradictions Under Socialist Conditions" (Nos 7 and 9, 1982) and A. P. Butenko "Contradictions in the Development of Socialism as a Social System" (No 10, 1982). In summing up the results of the discussion, in his issue No 2 for 1984 the journal published a review of responses to said articles as well as the article by A. P. Butenko "Once Again on Contradictions Within Socialism" and the one by V. S. Semenov "On the Theoretical Intensification and Concretizing of the Study of the Problem of Contradictions Under Developed Socialist Conditions."

The survey emphasized the inadequate development of the problems of the basic contradiction within socialism and the absence in philosophical publications of the necessary clarity on this matter, consistent with contemporary scientific and practical achievements. Furthermore, the choice of materials in the survey leans in favor of the viewpoint expressed in said articles. Consequently, "the basic contradiction in socialism is the specifically manifested contradiction between the level reached in the development of production forces and the condition of socialist production relations" (No 2, 1984, p 119). This viewpoint is supported particularly energetically by A. P. Budenko. Thus, in the article "Contradictions in the Development of Socialism as a Social System," he criticizes those who consider the contradiction between the levels of production and consumption as the basic contradiction of socialism and of the entire communist system and notes that said contradiction is the base of all social progress rather than of communist progress alone (for some reason the author "forgets" to mention that in the communist system this contradiction loses its antagonistic nature and assumes an entirely different quality). Subsequently, however, fighting merely the "argument" which, in his view, is allegedly "hard to dispute," he writes that "the basic contradiction within socialism is the contradiction of the socialist production method, i.e., the contradiction between the growing production forces of society and the real system of socialist production relations existing within society..." (No 10, 1982, p 21). Yet this contradiction is inherent in all socioeconomic systems and is of a general sociological nature. Aware of this, the author explains that said contradiction is manifested in a specific form under socialism. How is the specific nature of the basic contradiction under socialism as a social system interpreted? In his article "Once Again on Contradictions Within Socialism" he explains that it is a question "not simply of a contradiction between production forces and production relations but of a specifically socialist contradiction between growing production forces of society (and, therefore, the growing social nature of the production process) and the actual system of socialist production relations existing within society" (No 2, 1984, p 125). However, this statement does not clarify the matter in the least. Under capitalism as well, the growth of production forces, which means the growth of the social nature of production, also clashes with its capitalist production relations. Let us recall that in studying the basic contradiction within capitalism, Marx

saw it specifically in the social nature of production and the private form of appropriation. Therefore, the specific nature of the basic contradiction of socialism remains undisclosed.

The creative searches of social scientists who proceed from the fact that the main contradiction within the communist system should be sought in connection with the basic law of its development and in accordance with the effect of the law of increased requirements under socialism and communism seems methodologically fruitful. Indeed, it is only under socialist conditions, on the basis of the progressive development of production forces and the real socialization of production and collectivistic production relations that the antagonism between production and consumption can be eliminated. The effect of the basic economic law of socialism, which offers the possibility of most fully satisfying the growing material and spiritual needs of the members of society is revealed in this specific contradiction. Whenever this is forgotten and the fact is ignored that it is precisely socialism which provides scope for the effect of the law of increased requirements, an assertion appears according to which the thesis of the nonantagonistic contradiction with production and consumption under socialism is aimed at the "theoretical substantiation"...of constant shortages within the socialist economy (see No 2, 1984, p 126). Is this not the equivalent of saying that this contradiction is insoluble under socialism?

Let us add that the view that the main contradiction with the communist system is found in the organic interaction with the basic law of its development is presented in the monograph by S. P. Dudel' and V. Ye. Kozlovskiy "Problemy Dialektiki Zrelogo Sotsializma (Sotsial'noye Yedinstvo i Protivorechiya Razvitiya)" [Problems of Dialectics of Mature Socialism (Social Unity and Development Contradictions)] (Mysl', Moscow, 1981). The authors proceed from Engels' view according to which "the surplus of production which exceeds immediate social requirements...will meet the needs of all members of society and will trigger new needs and, at the same time, will create the necessary means for their satisfaction. It will be a prerequisite and an incentive for further progress..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 334). The authors explain that the basic dialectical contradiction within the communist system also exists and develops specific modified forms and is resolved and reproduced at all stages of development of socialism and communism, noting the need to take into consideration the fact that the development of production forces in converting from mature socialism to communism would undergo qualitative changes not only in its material but its personality elements as well and, above all, in the people (see S. P. Budel' and V. E. Koslovskiy, op. cit., pp 157-158).

In winding up the discussion, VOPROSY FILOSOFII stipulates that although it did not start it, it received a large number of responses to the articles it published on contradictions under socialism. This is a characteristic admission! The CPSU Central Committee decree on the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics relative to serious shortcomings in the style and method of organization of scientific activities by the institute also mentions that the role of scientific discussions has diminished, including those sponsored by VOPROSY EKONOMIKI. Pointing out the need of creating within the institute conditions contributory to the formulation, creative discussion and

resolution of new problems created by reality, along with the important significance ascribed to the systematic and purposeful holding of scientific discussions and achieving results which would enrich science, the decree emphasizes the need to enhance the role of such discussions in the journal. Therefore, lack of organization and purposefulness cannot serve as justification for the lack of results of a discussion. It is a confirmation of belittling its role in the creative discussion and resolution of real problems.

In connection with discussions on contradictions, it would be desirable for their organizers and participants to turn more frequently to the history of Marxism-Leninism and its struggle against revisionism, idealism and metaphysics, bearing in mind that something believed to be "new" is nothing but something long-forgotten. A curious fact relative to this problem is cited in the "History of Marxist Dialectics." Thus, in his time E. Bernstein rejected the commonality of dialectical laws of development on the grounds that, as he claims, only laws which will operate under the conditions of future socialism will be universal. In his view, however, social harmony under socialism should exclude all contradictions and all dialectics. In arguing against K. Kautskiy, who was then supporting the Marxist viewpoint, he wrote that "the struggle of contradictions is the motive force of all development," Kautskiy states and asks me if I consider erroneous this doctrine or merely its special forms as found in the doctrines of Hegel, Marx and Engels. I shall answer to this with the following question: If Kautskiy's claim is accurate, then what will happen to the 'final objective' of socialism, to a social system based on the harmonious joint life of all its members? Will all development stop within it? I do not hold the view that the struggle of contradictions is the motive force for any development. The combined action of related forces will be an equally great development booster." Bernstein discussed the subject at the end of the 19th century and soon afterwards his book "Outlines From the History and Theory of Socialism" (St Petersburg, 1902) was published in the Russian language.

Let us note that the problem of the characteristic nature of nonantagonistic contradictions under socialist conditions was broadened by the formulation of the question of the correlation between the socialist ideal and real socialism. This question is topical today both in connection with the fact that our society has entered a historically lengthy stage of advancement of developed socialism as well as the fact that the enemies of scientific communism are making great efforts to prove that in the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries reality has parted with ideal. As the collective work "Razvitoy Sotsializm: Problemy Teorii i Praktiki" [Developed Socialism: Problems of Theory and Practice] (Third edition, Politizdat, Moscow, 1982), which has been recommended for use within the party training system, convincingly proves, efforts to discredit real socialism by pitting it against the socialist ideal are groundless. We know that in terms of capitalist reality, in its main and decisive aftereffects the socialist ideal is a radical, a revolutionary-critical rejection of the bourgeois production method and way of life. Consequently, in this case the contradiction between socialist ideal and reality has a directly antagonistic nature. With the establishment of the power of the working people and the victory of socialism in one country or another the contradiction between socialist ideal and



reality undergoes a basic change. The main aspects of this nonantagonistic contradiction are, on the one hand, the ideal as the final, the theoretically predictable objective of the proletarian movement and, on the other, the specific social reality which is necessarily only one of the initial or intermediary stages on the way to this ideal. Furthermore, we must not forget that in terms of the actual level of production forces and labor productivity real socialism has not reached as yet its full potential (see pp 390-391). The correlation between socialist ideal and reality actually expresses the interconnection between its profound development trends and forms of manifestation determined also by the specific circumstances under which these trends are realized. This formulation of the matter not only methodologically arms our social scientists in their struggle against various misrepresentations of real socialism but also cautions them against underestimating the real dialectics of the ideal and the real in the development of the new society and against exaggerating and, sometimes, even dramatizing aspects of partial discrepancy between them. Such a lack of understanding occasionally leads to the fact that when facing the specific manifestations of such noncoincidences in the life of one socialist country or another, some authors consider the means of surmounting them not in terms of the systematic intensification of the process of real socialization of labor and production and bringing the cooperative and the nationwide form of ownership closer to each other and not in terms of progress but of retreating from the level of socialization already reached and in efforts to impose upon already built socialism one modification of the NEP or another.

After the July Plenum, which called upon our social scientists to undertake the comprehensive study of nonantagonistic contradiction inherent in mature socialism and the characteristics of surmounting it under the conditions of the growing sociopolitical and ideological unity in Soviet society, a number of articles on this problem appeared in the press. However, we must not ignore the fact that some of them once again repeat merely general considerations relative to the existence of contradictions under socialism. It is frustrating that the problem of contradictions and the means of resolving them are interpreted, as in the past, in a manner unrelated to specific social realities.

Today the opinion has been established in our social science that a contradiction is not something alien to socialism but that it is radically different from antagonisms in bourgeois society. Noting this circumstance, Comrade K. U. Chernenko wrote that "However, we must move beyond this, let us frankly point out, obvious truth of creative Marxism. Our social sciences must study problems of prime theoretical and practical significance such as the nature and type of contradictions characteristic of the contemporary stage in the development of Soviet society and the objective and subjective factors which create them, without trying, as is sometimes the case, to ascribe all existing difficulties and negative phenomena to 'vestiges of the past' in the minds of the people. The comprehensive theoretical study of said problems will help the party to gain a more profound knowledge of the economic, social or other reasons for arising contradictions and to surmount them promptly and efficiently."



High party principle-mindedness and exigency in the creative collectives in scientific institutions is a prerequisite for the successful implementation of the tasks of the social sciences. Conceptual clarity, the tried Marxist-Leninist methodology of scientific research and methodological mental discipline are mandatory prerequisites for their development. That is how this question has been formulated in the party documents which also emphasize the important role of scientific criticism in surmounting still-encountered erroneous views.

For the sake of fairness we must admit that the social scientists, the philosophers above all, have done a great deal of work in proving the usefulness of criticism and self-criticism in our social life (see, for example, the article on this subject in the dictionary "Nauchnyy Kommunizm" [Scientific Communism], Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, p 129, written by a large group of authors). Who if not the representatives of the social sciences should set the example of a proper attitude toward criticism and self-criticism and the ability efficiently to apply this tried method in their scientific activities?

The following fact proves how necessary a properly formulated criticism and self-criticism is in terms of our social sciences. In referring to the events in Poland and ignoring the real level of socialization in that country, some philosophers have claimed that under socialist conditions nonantagonistic contradictions could develop into antagonistic ones. This is a revision of the familiar Leninist concept of the nonantagonistic nature of contradictions under socialism. Currently this point of view is being amended. Thus, V. S. Semenov writes that "in noting the real facts of the appearance in a number of socialist countries toward the end of the transitional period or even after it of contradictions of an antagonistic nature, we believe that it would be necessary to refine and correct the previous interpretation of said processes. In this case it would be more accurate to speak not of the growth of nonantagonistic into antagonistic contradictions but of the possibility of the appearance at some stages and along with nonantagonistic contradictions inherent in a socialist society of some antagonist contradictions which develop as a result of the activities of the social forces of the domestic and foreign counterrevolution" (VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 2, 1984, p 133). Despite all reservations, such views held on the matter contain an element of self-criticism in social science.

The need for such self-criticism is confirmed by A. P. Butenko's article we mentioned "Once Again on Contradictions Within Socialism." As before, it claims that the historical experience of real socialism indicates that "it is also possible for a change to take place, a rather profound one at that, according to which the initial interests become pitted against each other in a nonantagonistic contradiction of social forces" "and, consequently, the nature of the contradiction itself changes" (ibid., p 129). The author insists on the experience (by virtue of the insufficient study of the problem) "of speaking not of the direct transformation under socialism of some nonantagonistic into antagonistic contradictions but of the fact that under certain circumstances, particularly in deformations of socialism, a transformation occurs within a nonantagonistic contradiction, inherent in the natural historical development of socialism (such as between the development

of production forces and the real totality of production relations, between social and individual needs and consumption, between centralism and democracy, etc.) into other contradictions which may acquire the features of antagonistic contradictions" (ibid., pp 128-129). Incidentally, the author cites as proof of this statement the contradictions which in their time were triggered by the violation of the principles of socialism and the Leninist norms of party life by the previous Polish leadership, deliberately taken out of the context of antisocialist actions on the part of domestic and external counterrevolutionary forces. Therefore, this discussion should be continued.

A number of viewpoints and opinions have been expressed in the press, not to mention in oral arguments, which have also failed to pass the test of time and the analysis of the experience of real socialism. We have authors who only yesterday were zealously presenting socialism as communism but who today have already been able to "turn back" and have changed the word "communism" into "developed socialism," as though all of this amounted to no more than a change in terminology, without displaying even the slightest wish to explain to the readers what happened to their previous arguments. Such "turns" have taken place in the past as well. For example, we find on page 275 of the collective work "The Marxist-Leninist Theory on Socialism and Contemporaneity" the claim that "the main problems resolved in the period of developed socialism were formulated in the CPSU Program." Thus, the document adopted at the 22nd Party Congress in October 1961 was ascribed the substantiated concept of developed socialism long before the concept itself was formulated. This once again reminds us of the need for principle-mindedness and objectivity in the social sciences. That is why it is useful to point out again and again the meaning of scientific criticism in its classical Marxist-Leninist understanding.

In the course of the study of objective reality, in which the veracity of hypotheses or claims is still unconfirmed in practical terms, scientists may interpret one new problem or another in a variety of ways. That is why the party is concerned with scientific discussions to be held on a systematic purposeful basis and for their results to enrich science and enable us to formulate practical recommendations and suggestions; such discussions must be practical in content and comradely in nature and their objective must be a collective scientific analysis of social reality in order to determine the objective truth rather than to fulfill scientific ambitions. Understandably, it is inadmissible to slap ideological "labels" in scientific discussions of a practical and comradely nature. This, however, does not exclude in the least impartial assessments of works. However, there have been cases in which the authors of criticized works are unwilling to engage in honest and open argument on the essence of the matter but try to lead the discussion toward far-fetched accusations against their critics, who complain to various authorities, resort to unscientific group interest, and so on.

The creative discussion and resolution of new problems raised by reality presumes the acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist principles and traditions governing scientific discussions and the application of high polemical standards. Quite instructive in this respect is the book "Ob Iskusstve Polemiki" [On the Art of Polemics] (Politizdat, Moscow, 1980). The book describes in detail the method and methodology of criticism as developed and applied by Marx, Engels and Lenin in their struggle against ideologies hostile

to scientific socialism. Incidentally, arguments, polemics and discussions take place not only with ideological opponents but also with conscientious although mistaken people. The book notes in this connection that although either type of polemics may have its specific features, their purpose is to determine the truth. They must be convincing and supported by arguments. That is precisely the way Marxists-Leninists understand the purpose and nature of polemics (see p 4). However, nothing is mentioned in the book about the specific nature of the second type of polemics (with conscientious but mistaken people). It is equally regrettable that in a work especially dealing with the art of polemics the third type is totally ignored--discussions among people who proceed on the basis of identical Marxist-Leninist positions. Yet Lenin cautioned that polemics among like-minded people should not result in "confusing enemies with friends" (see op. cit., vol 4, p 215).

In this connection, the Leninist principles and methods of scientific criticism should be our permanent guideline. Let us recall how differently in his "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" Lenin approached open ideological opponents and idealistic philosophers and scientists who shared to one extent or another the general concept of materialism on basic matters, although not holding the positions of dialectical materialism. He irreconcilably fought the former but struggled for the latter, correcting them and showing to them the way to more consistent materialism. Here again he followed Marx and Engels who, in his word, "always condemned (an essentially antidialectical) materialism but from the viewpoint of a higher and more developed dialectical materialism..." (op. cit., vol 18, p 252).

Large sections in the thorough scientific-methodical work by Academician B. M. Kedrov "Kak Izuchat' Knigu V. I. Lenina 'Materializm i Empiriokrititsizm'" [How To Study V. I. Lenin's book "Materialism and Empiriocriticism"] (fourth expanded edition, Politizdat, Moscow, 1983) deals extensively with the nature and principles of Leninist scientific criticism. This work is a good aid in clarifying the very essence of the problem.

Let us consider some of its main aspects, the party-mindedness of scientific criticism above all, which stems from the principle of party-mindedness of philosophy. Lenin pitted it against bourgeois objectivism concealed behind fictitious impartiality. This principle, which meets the open and consistent struggle for materialism and for a truly scientific interpretation of the world and its revolutionary transformation on the basis of the reliable method of dialectical materialism, presumes the comprehensive study of scientific concepts related to specific historical conditions, the ability to determine their socioclass roots and systematically to defend the basic interests of the working class. The more precisely the social scientists can express such interests the more successful they will be in objectively studying phenomena and trends of social development.

Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the fact that the interests of one class or another stands behind political, moral or other types of statements or declarations. It is precisely such interests which are the very base of individual motivations, words and actions of people. That is why replacing some class criteria and categories with others (such as abstract-humanistic) is an unquestionable retreat from the requirements of objective scientific



analysis. Therefore, a creative search can be effective only if it is firmly based on Marxist-Leninist conceptual and methodological principles and is a strictly oriented class criteria. Sometimes, however amateurs of competing "turns" try to conceal themselves behind the principle of party-mindedness. It is hardly necessary to explain in detail that adaptability has nothing in common with true science. The founders of Marxism-Leninism frequently pointed out that the true scientist must be principled minded in his search for scientific truth. "Is truth not the prime obligation of the researcher?" Marx wrote. "He must directly aspire toward it looking neither to the right nor to the left." (K. Marx and F. Engels, (op. cit., p 6). Occasionally, the simplistic understanding of the principle of party-mindedness turns a theoretical debate into a "skirmish," senseless from the viewpoint of scientific research, in which instead of engaging in efficient and comradely criticism and using convincing arguments, the participants resorts to various "labels" they pin on each other. Lenin emphasized that "one must most carefully watch that the inevitable arguments and inevitable clash of opinions do not degenerate into a squabble...." (op. cit., vol 24, p 166). In Lenin, as in Marx and Engels, even the most sharp and irreconcilable criticism was invariably accompanied by a clear presentation of their own viewpoint on the matter, supported by strictly scientific arguments.

We see, therefore, that the party-mindedness of scientific criticism in its Marxist-Leninist understanding is creative and constructive. The works of Marx, Engels and Lenin serve as classical examples to our social scientists.

According to Lenin, scientific, Marxist criticism presumes its substantiveness, i.e., a profound analysis of essential concepts and views. Lenin, who never limited himself to general considerations in his criticism, chose as its target the most complex, the most confused ideological problems of his ideological opponents and exposed their attacks on Marxism with suitable arguments. In such cases, the justified sharpness of the criticism was accompanied by a thorough analysis of the opponents' theses. Concreteness and extensive proof and the substantiated analysis of the various concepts, views and points are generally characteristic of Lenin's works. Lenin ably exposed the nature of the problem, clearly separating its terminological aspect from games and fashionable "terminology," proving their lack of scientific content.

In this respect as well Lenin's methodology of scientific criticism is exceptionally useful and instructive in theoretical discussions conducted by our social scientists.

Even a brief consideration of the principles and traditions of Leninist scientific criticism indicates the principled nature of this problem. This is the most important prerequisite for the proper conduct of scientific criticism which, in defending the conceptual accuracy and methodological discipline of the mind as a mandatory prerequisite for the successful development of the social sciences, must help them to eliminate the still occasionally encountered senseless repetition of obsolete formulas or attempts to interpret the principles of dialectical materialism as though they have long become familiar and basic and, therefore, not particularly topical. Facts prove that, while remaining on scientific grounds, one must not "forget" such basic



principles. Criticism is necessary in surmounting inertia and mental sluggishness, blocking work on petty topics in science or locking oneself within one's own "dissertation" and group interests. Briefly stated, scientific criticism is absolutely necessary in order to see to it that the social scientists firmly turn to problems of prime significance in implementing the CPSU's strategic task of the further advancement of developed socialism and the fullest possible utilization of its advantages.

"The true test of the communist is his understanding of (how) where and when to turn his Marxism into action" ("Leninskiy Sbornik XXXVII," p 249). To be on the level of this Leninist requirement is a matter of honor for the party members, the social scientists and all scientists dealing with conceptual problems, socialism and the moral aspects of the development of knowledge.

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## SOCIALIST COMPETITION AND RIVALRY

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[Review by Dr of Economic Sciences P.Grechishnikov of the book "Sorevnovaniye i Konkurentsiya. Kritika Antimarksistskikh Vzgl'yadov" [Competition and Rivalry. Critique of Anti-Marxist Views]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 256 pp]

[Text] This collective work under review is of great interest. Such a comprehensive study of economic, philosophical and sociopolitical problems of socialist competition and capitalist rivalry is a substantiated exposure of the efforts of bourgeois ideologues to discredit the experience of competition in the USSR and a thorough criticism of the latest apologetic anti-Marxist concepts of rivalry.

The authors consider the basic concepts of the Marxist-Leninist classics on the nature and role of socialist competition and capitalist rivalry, indicating the basic differences between them and analyzing CPSU activities in organizing the competition in the difference stages of building socialism.

The authors note that, acting as the ideologues of the working class, in their very first works Marx and Engels identified the objective connection between rivalry and private ownership and raised the question of the timely need to eliminate it and replace it with competition.

Soon after the Great October Socialist Revolution, V. I. Lenin spoke on the matter. At that historical moment, when the working people emerged "on the road of independent creation of a new life" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 199), he set as the prime task of the socioeconomic policy of the communist party and the Soviet state that of organizing competition.

Labor competitiveness under socialist conditions is a permanent factor in upgrading production efficiency and an inexhaustible reserve of economic growth.

By involving themselves in competition, as the book notes, the workers in socialist enterprises set for themselves specific levels of upgrading labor productivity, improving production quality, reducing costs and conserving raw

materials, materials and other resources. They also earmark specific ways of achieving their objectives. In this manner socialist competition contributes to the involvement of the broadest possible toiling masses in production management. Labor competition under socialism creates real opportunities for the workers to display their capabilities and talents and for their self-assertion and self-improvement.

The constructive power of labor competition is multiplied by the fact that it develops within a set of relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid. The additional energy which develops as a result of contacts among people in the course of the productive collective process is used in achieving the most efficient solution of the national economic problems faced by society. The increased material and spiritual goods which belong to all working people and are used to enhance the people's well-being are the overall result of the competition. That is why the working people are profoundly interested in the extensive development of the competition on a socialist basis as an inexhaustible source of the life creativity of the broadest possible masses.

The book describes in detail the contemporary bourgeois concepts of rivalry applied in the United States. The authors classify them into three basic groups: first, the apologetic concepts of competition used for "domestic" consumption, particularly the concept of "free" or "unlimited" competition as a "source of wealth and incentive for social progress," distortedly expressed in the policies of the current White House administration, known as Reaganomics." Second, the concept of the "new competition era" and the competitive struggle "by all possible means," as substantiation of U.S. neocolonialist expansion. Third, the anticommunist concepts of "rigidity and stagnation of the noncompetitive socialist economy." A critical consideration of said competition concepts proves that they are unable to restrain or even to conceal the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism.

The book also describes the expository criticism of contemporary bourgeois concepts of rivalry taking place in the capitalist countries themselves. Here is one example: "We live with the myth of the system of 'free enterprise'," writes Fred Cook in his book "Corruption Country. Social Morality in Contemporary America." "In reality, to the tremendous majority of Americans our enterprise is no longer free. The small merchant, whose store was his empire, the artisan whose art was wealth, the farmer, who had his acre of land and who was essentially self-supporting, were the foundations of the free enterprise economy of the 19th century. Today these are dying classes, all of them absorbed by corporations owned by multimillionaires" (p 187).

The work exposes the efforts of bourgeois ideologues to "ennoble" rivalry and thus to distort the nature and incentives of socialist competition and attempt to identify capitalist rivalry with competition under socialist conditions as identical phenomena, allegedly inherent in "human nature in general." The purpose of all of this is to develop one more variant of the notorious "convergence." The critical analysis of the bourgeois concept of competition enable us, as the authors point out, "better to assess socialist competition, this great motive force of technical-economic, sociopolitical and moral progress, which was activated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, and

to interpret more profoundly the universal historical fact that socialism alone, by eliminating private ownership and the production anarchy it creates, liberates labor, eliminates its alienation and opens the way to competition among millions of people" (p 209).

The historical experience of economic construction in the USSR and the other members of the socialist commonwealth convincingly proves the Marxist-Leninist concept that the new system alone, based on the public ownership of productive capital creates conditions for the organization of competition in ways worthy of mankind. The monograph describes the advantages of socialist competition as a motive force of social progress and indicates the role of the CPSU in guiding the nationwide socialist competition at the stage of developed socialism. What makes this book interesting is also the fact that it considers problems related to the development of international socialist competition and its influence on accelerating economic progress in the fraternal countries.

This monograph will be of use not only to scientific workers and social science teachers but also to propagandists within party and economic education systems and to lecturers.

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#### SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 84 (signed to press 23 Jul 84) pp 119-121

[Text] P. A. Ignatovskiy. "Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn' Sotsialisticheskogo Obshchestva" [The Economic Life of Socialist Society]. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1983, 248 pp.  
Reviewed by Dr of Economic Sciences K. Mikul'skiy.

This book is an effort to consider economic life as a determining area of activities in socialist society at large. In explaining the meaning of the concept of "economic life of socialist society," the author singles out above all the main trends in the growth of the country's economic potential as closely linked to the advancement of socialist production relations and the continuing process of production socialization. The study of the progressive trends in the development and cooperation of public labor, the study of processes of further production industrialization and the development of the national economic agroindustrial complex are discussed extensively. On this basis the author extensively analyzes topical problems of upgrading the maturity of the social nature of socialist labor, the dialectics of consumer value and production cost and strengthened labor discipline, which is the most important condition and factor in the expansion and intensification of production relations. The question of the economic standard of society is interestingly formulated. The book ends with a theoretical consideration of the process of the increased role of the communist party in the economic life of the socialist association of working people.

In describing economic life in socialist society at the present stage, the author points out a certain disparity between the theory and the practice of socialist economic management and between planning progressive changes in the economic mechanism and their actual implementation. He considers in this connection the actual difficulties and problems of converting to the system of production associations as the main form of the primary unit of our economy. This form is presented as the necessary product of the present stage of socialist socialization with all deriving consequences. In practice, however, the activities of a number of associations have met with certain difficulties in terms of labor organization and production specialization and cooperation. They have been affected by the inability to master the new form of organization and unwillingness to part with obsolete management methods.

P. A. Ignatovskiy relates increased economic management efficiency to the basic trends in the systematic improvement of the management system developed in the country and its coordination with the economics of the initial stage of developed socialism. This includes above all a more accurate reflection in the plans of the qualitative and quantitative structure of social requirements, the need to reach the necessary level of development of cost accounting relations and the drastic intensification of the material and moral incentives and responsibility of workers and labor collectives for final production results.

The author describes the growing significance of Marxist-Leninist methodology in learning the effect of the objective economic laws of socialism in the course of developing the conscious socioproduction activity of the masses. He analyzes the current changes taking place in the correlation between objective and subjective factors as a result of the increased role of purposeful and systematically organized activities on all levels of the national economic entity in resolving basic scientific and technical, production and social problems.

The book discusses extensively the complex set of problems of correlation between economics and politics in socialist society. Economics precedes politics. However, an inverse relationship of growing significance exists as well. The policies of the communist party play an active role as a means of optimally combining the economic interests of the society, the collective and the individual. The author substantiatedly emphasizes that the fullest possible satisfaction of human requirements and the creation of conditions for the comprehensive development of the people are possible only by observing the sum total of structural elements of the public interest. At the same time, the creation of such prerequisites is the "peak of public interests" (see p 205).

The author's approach to the interpretation of some important problems is somewhat controversial although this cannot be considered a shortcoming. The inclusion of a number of concepts into the area of scientific research could contribute to a certain extent to the enrichment of the economic theory of socialism and to taking the latter closer to the practice of economic management. The book will be of interest to the general readership and will contribute to developing more accurate ideas on the nature of the topical problems of contemporary economic reality and the way to resolve them.

Mikh. Lifshits. "G. V. Plekhanov." Essay on social activities and aesthetic views. Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1983, 143 pp. Reviewed by Dr of Philosophical Sciences B. Luk'yanov.

The scientific legacy of M. A. Lifshits, doctor of philosophical sciences and member of the USSR Academy of Fine Arts, is a very outstanding phenomenon in the area of creative Marxism. In defending the methodological accuracy of theoretical positions, outstandingly promoting communist ideals and passionately struggling against the myth of bourgeois awareness and manifestations of inconsistency on the part of some of our philosophers, he

not only displayed the wealth of his erudition, flexibility of lively literary perfect thinking and brilliant polemic skill but also made a contribution to the development of the dialectical-materialistic understanding of the nature of art and of all cultural phenomena.

Whatever Mikhail Aleksandrovich wrote--a major book or an article for a journal--revealed a profound knowledge of the legacy of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. It would be difficult to overestimate his contribution to the preparation for and publication of works such as "Karl Marks i Fridrikh Engel's ob Iskusstve" [Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels on Art] in two volumes), "Hegel's Aesthetics" (in four volumes) and other sources of worldwide philosophical and aesthetic thought.

We now have his last book, which came out shortly before his death, on an outstanding Russian theoretician and propagandist of Marxism and a leader in the Russian and international worker and socialist movements. The author's choice of G. V. Plekhanov as his subject was not random. V. I. Lenin himself pointed out that "one cannot be a conscious, a true communist without studying, precisely studying, everything which Plekhanov wrote on the subject of philosophy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch. [Complete Collected Works, vol 42, p 290).

The author describes Plekhanov's life and works in the context of historical events and ideological-theoretical struggles of his time. Rising above the "actual" fabric of his life, the author recreates the biography of the ideas of this outstanding Russian Marxist. He clearly describes the reasons for which Plekhanov abandoned populist ideology and the logic of the conversion of this revolutionary to Marxist positions. He reminds the reader that it was precisely Plekhanov who translated into Russian the "Communist Manifesto" and gave it a preface and wrote the first original works of revolutionary Marxism in Russian. He also analyzes Plekhanov's ideological errors which were sharply criticized by Lenin and which determined the growing divergence of the two political lines within the social democratic movement. On the philosophical level these errors are described by the author as the erroneous understanding of the dialectics of the subjective and the objective which prevented Plekhanov, among others, from hearing the living voices of historical practice and adequately interpreting a number of social phenomena.

The foundation for the meaningful assessment of Plekhanov's aesthetic works is the fine analysis of his philosophical views. The author reveals within them not only their true merits but the line which the philosopher was unable to cross. As we know, Plekhanov subjected to just and annihilating criticism the avant garde movement in art. Unfortunately, his solution of a number of theoretical problems (such as, for example, introducing the criterion of the consistency between the implementation of a concept as being on the same level as artistic truth) which left a loophole for formalism. We should not be amazed at the accuracy with which the vulnerable areas in Plekhanov's aesthetics are made clear, for Lifshits has long and passionately fought for realistic art and was the author of many meaningful and outstanding writings against distorted concepts of the nature of artistic creativity and its social purpose. He opposed the myths of contemporary bourgeois consciousness (see, for example, his "Mifologiyu Drevnyuyu i Sovremennuyu" [Ancient and Modern Mythology], Moscow, 1980; the collective work he edited and coauthored

"Filosofiya Iskusstva v Proshlom i Nastoyashchem" [Philosophy of Art, Past and Present]. (Moscow, 1981, and others).

The book by M. A. Lifshits is instructive not only for the study of Plekhanov's life and works but for the author's own formulation and resolution of a number of topical conceptual and methodological problems, such as the study of the "absolute" in Marxism, which opposes the relativism of bourgeois philosophy which would not hesitate to question any value of the human spirit (see p 83). The author proves that neither revolutionary democracy, as represented by Chernyshevskiy and Dobrolyubov, nor, even less so, Marxism-Leninism have rejected the ideal understood as the "real perfection of life" (see p 84) which bourgeois ideology is trying to discredit most of all.

The study of the complex dilemma facing any revolutionary is discussed in a masterly way in the book: how to combine the acknowledgment of historical necessity with the activities of the individual. Lifshits proves the inadequacy of Plekhanov's dialectics, which was actually reduced to the formula that "everything is good in its time," i.e., to a kind of historical utilitarianism (see p 88). He convincingly exposes the roots of this shortcoming which revealed a lack of understanding of the fact that a "if a class civilization, despite all of its negative aspects is, generally speaking, progressive, in each specific case one may choose the more progressive, the more democratic way" (p 89). "Good" and "evil" combine differently at each historical stage, the author writes, and true dialectics means the ability to take such differences in the study of real life and practice.

Lifshits takes this problem further in its application to art and its age-old argument: should reality be accurately reproduced or should it be embellished and idealized? Historical reality demands the researcher to be wary of the official accuracy of a slogan and to look at the essence of things and their real meaning. "There exists an aspiration toward the ideal, which goes beyond any realism. There also is a realism which is more ideal than the entire conventional treatment of the old academies" (p 90). As the author justifiably points out, the task is "to link what is historical and relative in art with what is objective and absolute" (p 91) and to consider it on the basis of specific examples borrowed from the history of art.

That is why the readers will be interested not only in the specific topic but also the means used in the creative solution of the problem.

Like all his other works, N. A. Lifshits's book will help to enhance general educational and philosophical standards and our ideological and theoretical struggle on the ideological front.

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JOURNAL'S MAIL: JANUARY-JUNE 1984

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 84 (signed to press 23 Jul 84) pp 122-128

[Text] During the first half of the year KOMMUNIST received 1,102 communications, which included 329 manuscripts of articles, essays, reviews and notes, 136 answers to journal publications, 268 questions, suggestions and wishes addressed to the editors and 369 petitions and complaints.

As is usually the case, the journal's mail presents a variegated picture of aspirations, thoughts and concerns expressed by the readers, reflecting to a certain extent their public and personal interests and understanding of their civic duty and the moral qualities of Soviet people. It indicates the involved and deeply interested attitude of the authors toward all aspects of life in our society and international affairs and a high degree of socialist consciousness and communist ideological convictions; it insistently reminds us of how important it is to improve propaganda and apply progressive experience and the achievements of scientific and technical progress while, at the same time, struggle with increasing resolve against negative phenomena many of which remain in the realm of economic management and the work of state institutions. The mail proves the broad scope and basic level of education and competence of the Soviet person and his ability seriously to interpret events and confidently to look at the future. This conviction is also reflected in the high rating which the readers give to the resolutions of the party's Central Committee plenums and recent CPSU Central Committee decrees.

Our voluntary correspondents pay great attention to problems of development of Marxist-Leninist theory, national economic management, ideological work and communist education. Special among them are letters which discuss problems of improving the Soviet way of life and asserting and developing its principles and norms. The people are profoundly indignant about violations of party ethics, disorganization, irresponsibility, inability and, occasionally, unwillingness to organize labor discipline and a liberal attitude and slackness in the struggle against antisocial phenomena.

The readers actively interpret the concepts and conclusions contained in the speech by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary

and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, on the new edition of the CPSU program. The letters express their unanimous support of the formulated essential directions along which this document should be developed and expanded. They approve the profoundly principle-minded Leninist approach taken to carrying out the necessary changes and refinements in substantiating the party's general line aimed at comprehensively advancing developed socialist society in our country and its successful progress toward communism. The letters include suggestions which, their authors believe, should be considered. These and other proposals submitted by Soviet citizens are sent to the Central Committee commission in charge of drafting the new CPSU program.

As the editorial mail shows, the readers thoughtfully study the party documents and the articles by the leaders of the communist party and the Soviet state published in the journal. "Allow me to share with you views and suggestions relative to two concepts expressed in the article by Comrade K. U. Chernenko 'Cause of the Entire Party and Duty of Every Communist' (KOMMUNIST, No 15, 1983)," writes, for example, E. Dopolov, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate at the sociology sector of the Buryat Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department. "This programmatic article, which directs the party and all party members toward the implementation of specific tasks in the area of ideological work formulates, first of all, the question of the need to implement the resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on organizing an all-union center for the study of public opinion and, secondly, on the interaction between science and ideological practice. The article points out that the Center for the Study of Public Opinion will require strong local support by kray, oblast and city party committees; in connection with the question of the interaction between science and ideological practice the task has been set of eliminating the lack of coordination between scientific and propaganda units." The author of the letter believes that an "all-union scientific center is needed for coordination and methodical work," and that the existing sociological sectors in scientific institutions should be reorganized as sectors for the study of public opinion and that their work should be planned in connection with the requests and assignments of party and soviet organs. The head of the science or propaganda and agitation department of the party obkom (gorkom) should act as the curator of this scientific group. "With such an organization of the work of the support centers of such an all-union public opinion center, another equally important problem will be resolved: achieving a close tie between science and propaganda and eliminating the lack of coordination between them."

A number of authors, who refer to this and other works by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, express their views on the basic ways of developing an active civic stance in the Soviet people (N. Korolev, Moscow); they are concerned by the fact that some young people combine education and information with political infantilism and share their thoughts on ways to improve ideological education work among young people (A. Samsonov, Kaliningrad, Moscow Oblast). Turner V. Postolov (Leningrad), who reminds us that Comrade K. U. Chernenko's article in KOMMUNIST speaks of shaping sensible needs and distribution according to labor, matters which are inseparable from each other, points out that currently not everything in terms of distribution has been properly planned

and equitably organized. He expresses the hope that improving wages based on labor will make it possible to "close all loopholes for the lovers of the long ruble."

Some of the letters have already been published in the sections "From the Editorial Mail" and "The Reader Asks." Others have been included in topic surveys which are ready and will be published in the near future. Some of the authors have received extensive written answers.

In responding to the article by A. Kosichev "Marx's Struggle Against Opportunism and for the Purity of Revolutionary Theory" (No 5, 1984), M. Kafarov from Kirovabad shares his thoughts on the role which V. I. Lenin played in the development of Marxist philosophy and scientific socialism, the great vitality of the socialist social system and the communist beliefs of the Soviet people.

The readers note the scientific value and great educational importance of materials published in the journal on historical problems. They are greatly in favor of the section "Zealous Fighters for Communism." Ye. Krivosheyev, senior instructor at the Estonian Agricultural Academy, writes about little-known parts of the biography of F. A. Afanas'yev, the noted worker-revolutionary and one of those who was at the origins of the Russian revolutionary worker movement and organizer of the first Marxist circles. V. Vladimirov, son of the old communist clandestine worker and member of Lenin's party guard S. V. Vladimirov, has contributed interesting recollections about his father. V. Gassiyev, from Tskhinvali, South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, Georgian SSR, gave the title of "Stormy Petrel of the Revolution" to his notes on the strike of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk weavers, of May 1905 under the leadership of the bolsheviks, and the birth of the first soviet of worker deputies in the world.

Following is the letter to the editors by M. Danilova, head of the criticism of religious ideology department of the journal NAUKA I RELIGIYA: "I have just finished reading the booklet by B. Tarasov 'Poiski Dravdy' [Search for the Truth] in the 'Molodaya Gvardiya Series,' and I cannot conceal my amazement. A year ago you published an article by R. Petropavlovskiy on the subject of the book by Yu. Davydov 'Etika Lyubvi i Metafizika Svoeyevoliya' [Ethics of Love and Metaphysics of Willfulness] (which, incidentally, is once again on the market) and proved the entire inappropriateness in publishing in our press sermons about certain moral 'absolutes' in which the class-oriented approach to moral phenomena in society and the individual are replaced with a classless and almost open Christian views on 'righteousness,' 'love,' etc. Where does B. Tarasov look for moral truth? In Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy. The value of their works is unquestionable. However, could we limit ourselves to them, when it is a question of a search for contemporary moral ideals? In our case, however, we find those 'absolutes,' 'enlightenment' and 'age-old ethical-ontological traditions of Russian thought' and 'absolute' people who, according to Dostoyevskiy, were 'above all the just,' totally ignoring communist morality. Once again we find in this author the 'existentialist values' of death and rejection of all 'Renaissance-romantic' ideals.... We also find some kind of general mistrust in material progress--'manufactured



toys,' i.e., factory-made goods. This work was signed to press in 1984, after the KOMMUNIST article."

We read in some of the letters that decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums are welcomed by the Soviet people at a specific program for action. Thus, in the spirit of the stipulations of the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on further upgrading the role of soviets of people's deputies in managing socioeconomic and cultural construction, Dr of Philosophical Sciences N. Aitov from Ufa expresses his views on the topic which was raised in KOMMUNIST on the correlation between sectorial and territorial management. He notes that it is only with the optimal combination of these two types of management that major national economic problems such as the proper placement of enterprises, efficient utilization of production potential, allocation of manpower resources, raw and other material conservation, reducing the time for capital construction, creating the necessary social infrastructure, and so on, can be resolved successfully. He believes that the implementation by the local soviets of the assignments set for them in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's plenum speech "will be greatly determined by the real broadening of the rights of the soviets and enhancing the role of territorial management."

In connection with the publication in KOMMUNIST (No 5, 1984) of the article by A. Matlin "On the Question of Developing the Theory and Practice of Planned Price Setting," reader P. Golikov from Kursk writes that "in my view, its content is so critical that it requires the immediate reaction on the part of the authorities and individuals in charge of planned price setting: we cannot tolerate the existence of a price-setting system which contributes not to improving production and management but which creates the appearance of prosperous economic management.... The formulation of the question of applying a scientific, objective and, in a certain sense, uncompromising price system, which would enable us to recover production costs within socially normal amounts, calls for stopping the thoughtless enthusiasm on the subject of profits and production profitability achieved through prices higher than production costs...." The author of this letter believes that this article should be the subject of further discussion.

The readers comment on reserves within our economy and on the importance of observing the strictest possible regimen of thrift in order to accelerate its growth and on efforts to prevent all possible losses. Candidate of Economic Sciences M. Zagulin (Moscow) raises in his manuscript the question of reducing national economic losses. Their size, he proves, is in a number of cases unjustifiably high and is essentially the result of subjective factors, such as shortcomings in the organization of labor, production and management, the poor or incomplete use of available capacities, insufficient study of demand, pursuit of "gross output" to the detriment of production quality, negligence and inefficiency. For example, the state suffers tangible losses as a result of the production of significant quantities of industrial and consumer goods the quality and variety of which are inconsistent with demand and the trade organizations are forced to reject large shipments of items such as watches, cameras, refrigerators and television sets. The author points out that the culprits--economic management organs, production associations (enterprises) and individuals--are occasionally granted unjustifiably great opportunities to



compensate for the losses at the expense of the state and their partners; as a rule, the material liability of the specific culprits is very limited. According to the author, the rational method for the elimination of these and other reasons for such losses lies in improving the organizational structure of the economy and management, among others by applying cost accounting in the activities of all organs in charge of managing the national economy and bringing proper order in enterprises..

Engineer A. Rozhkov from Magadan discusses the possibility and, in his view, necessity of organizing the socialist competition at contemporary industrial enterprises with the use of automation and computer facilities. He proves that without this it is impossible today to assess accurately and efficiently the quality and quantity of the work of competing collectives and individual workers and to exercise daily control over the use of their working time, outlay of material and energy resources and efficiently to ensure the comparability of results and, therefore, the publicity of competition results.

Engineer V. Belokrinskiy from Ulyanovsk raises important questions of strengthening labor discipline. He suggests interesting practical measures aimed at improving the organization of labor, introducing order in the production process and enhancing the responsibility of everyone for the final results of the collectives' work. The author justifiably considers enhancing the efficiency of our economy an important reserve.

In response to the article by V. Kovalenko "Efficient Economic Management" (No 10, 1983), economist A. Kaliyev (Alma-Ata) raises the question of the necessary qualities which kolkhoz and sovkhos managers must possess. The author refers to specific examples of the situation in the best farms headed by competent and initiative-minded people and true leaders of labor collectives. Experience confirms that success develops wherever plans for economic and social development are implemented as a set, where the collective is stable and where "the management is stable." "Any farmer, a manager in particular, must plan on a lengthy period of work in the same farm," A. Kaliyev sums up his letter.

Many letters deal with topical problems of environmental protection. Land regulation engineer A. Ryzhikov, member of the USSR Geographic Society, from the Mordovian city of Temnikov, raises the question of the economy of preserves. "In our economic system," he writes, "preserves play a special role. Although they are budget-supported, their existence is necessary. They work for the future." Noting that in recent decades the area of preserves has been increased and so has the cost of maintaining them, the author nevertheless considers their situation not entirely satisfactory. He explains this with the fact that the economy of this sector is of little interest and that frequently the funds appropriated for the various preserves do not take their true needs into consideration. Along with the lack of substantiated norms, a major reason for this situation, in his view, lies in the "departmental lack of coordination in preserve management."

The people express their indignation at the frequently thoughtless and merciless destruction of woods around the towns, the pollution of natural sources of potable water and small rivers with construction and residential

refuse; many water reservoirs are being poisoned by untreated or improperly treated sewage waters. Several such revolting facts are reported by N. Chernen'kiy, a worker from Gorlovka, a city on the Donets and member of the Ukrainian Environmental Protection Society. He points out with concern that thoughtless economic activities are hurting the Bayraskiy and Tsyganskiy forests, that the Lugan River is becoming increasingly polluted and that industrial waste has even seeped into wells. "Who will rescue our river and our forests? Who should assume full responsibility for the implementation of the party's and government's environmental protection decisions?" he asks. His letter was forwarded to the party and soviet organs of Gorlovka and Donetsk Oblast in the hope that they will share his concern and take suitable measures.

The editors received a great deal of mail on the reform of general educational and vocational schools, which was considered at the June 1983 and April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The readers analyze the individual aspects of the reform and submit constructive suggestions to facilitate its implementation and to ensure in the best possible way the implementation of the respective Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet decrees. They point out that these documents indicate scientific trends in improving the activities of party and Soviet organs in managing general education and vocational schools and all departments and organizations involved in the training and education of the young generation.

The leitmotif of this mail is that the school reform is a nationwide project and that no one should or could ignore it or consider it personally unimportant. Naturally, most of the letters on this topic were from teachers and faculties. However, many other people have discussed the topic as well, expressing accurate or occasionally controversial remarks and suggestions. In this connection a stipulation applicable to this entire survey should be made: the fact that the editors may present a particular opinion or does not mean at all that they unconditionally support all expressed views.

One of the great concerns of the Soviet people is to avoid formalizing the further education of the young people so that they may acquire a true labor education and learn at an early age properly to value the need and greatness of labor, involving not only the active and conscientious mastery of the subjects but also productive labor which creates the material values needed by society.

The mail to the editors notes with satisfaction the comprehensiveness and substantiation of the reorganization of the training and education process of high school and vocational-technical school students as earmarked at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation. They deal with organizational-administrative problems and with improving the content of textbooks and curriculums, the training of teaching cadres and the formulation of new student regulations. Our correspondents emphasize that these steps alone would yield positive results and will truly ensure the enhancement of the new generations of Soviet people to a higher level of education and culture, vocational skills and civic activeness consistent with contemporary requirements.

The school reform is the live creativity of the broad toiling masses. This is another important thought expressed in a number of letters. The people are trying to participate in its implementation actively rather than in a consulting role. Naturally, not all suggestions can be implemented. However, quite frequently it is precisely nonspecialists who note shortcomings which have been missed by those who are continuing to observe established yet obsolete pedagogical rules. A number of letters to the editors report that ideas of innovative teachers do not always meet with the understanding of their colleagues.

Characteristically, in considering the documents of the party and the government on the school reform the letter writers find in them a great deal in common with the first Soviet documents on public education, such as the Regulation on the Unified Labor School of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and the Basic Principles of the Unified Labor School, a fact which meets with their approval. For example, V. Shevtsov, member of the labor education, training and vocational guidance section at the Rostov Oblast department of the RSFSR Pedagogical Society and scientific associate at the Pedagogical Institute, writes that said documents noted that "productive labor must be the base of school life, not as a means of paying for the upkeep of the children and not only as a teaching method but precisely as productive socially necessary labor" and that "progressive education calls for paying particular education to the educational functions of the school." Such thoughts are quite timely indeed!

V. Shevtsov reminds us that in his meeting with the voters, Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out that "no one who has not become accustomed to work can be a conscious builder of the new world" and that "it is not a question...at all of belittling the importance of general culture and knowledge or of introducing something resembling compulsory labor service."

Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences V. Kumarin from Moscow extensively discusses the dialectics of training and education. He favors an approach to the problem which would be consistent with V. I. Lenin's instructions, the works of N. K. Krupskaya and A. S. Makarenko and other outstanding Soviet educators, who developed truly fruitful methods for the training and education of the young generations of builders of the new society. He claims that "no one disputes the importance of education in the development of the personality. However, no books, no speeches can take the place of true upbringing, of practical experience in a good collective. It is time to realize most profoundly that the schools offer not one but two types of basic activities: training and education." The author emphasizes the need for combining labor, political and moral education.

One of the general lines in the school reform, as we know, is achieving a drastic improvement in the training and upbringing and vocational guidance of secondary school students and the organization of their socially useful productive labor. V. Ganzhin, senior scientific associate at the chair of Marxist-Leninist ethics of the philosophy faculty of Moscow State University writes the following: "The Moscow Chyka School-Plant is a model of resolving the problem of combining general with vocational education, training and labor



upbringing of high school students, developing the best traditions and allowing us to raise the question of creating scientific-production pedagogical associations. The Leninist style of social management unquestionably demands a conversion from moral support of progressive initiatives to their persistent and extensive practical application. The scientific and technical revolution and the limited nature of manpower make production enterprises extremely interested in accelerating the process of socializing the adolescents and improving cadre training." V. Ganzhin emphasizes the need to "improve the mechanism of dissemination of progressive experience" in this area and "the creation of a material base for the development and initial testing of useful initiatives." In his view, this problem deserves the closest possible attention of our economic managers and social scientists and should be reflected in the new draft of the CPSU program.

Many of the letters discussing the school reform raise the question of reorganizing the training process, submit suggestions on training methods and criticize textbooks. Thus, M. Mkrtchyan, candidate of physical and mathematical sciences and senior instructor at Krasnoyarsk University, describes the efforts of his colleagues to apply a collective training method. Prof P. Pidkasiy, doctor of pedagogical sciences, and docent V. Shatunovskiy, candidate of technical sciences, from Moscow, analyze the condition and prospects of the organization of classes in vocational technical schools and offer a method which they consider fruitful in "ensuring the required quality of the training and education process on the basis of the development of active training methods which provide durable and extensive knowledge, high civic-mindedness and creative attitude toward labor and knowledge."

"The inspiring tasks formulated in the school reform can be practically resolved if the principles applied in teaching a number of subjects are changed and if the teacher himself adopts a new understanding of his tasks in developing the creative personality of the students and in reinterpreting the content of the subject itself," writes D. Mamanov, member of the USSR Union of Painters, from Kalinin. "That is why changing the training and retraining of teachers and creating textbooks consistent with current requirements for students in pedagogical VUZs and normal schools, etc., is a most urgent task. A particularly considerable reorganization of the cycle of aesthetic subjects is necessary.... There is no coordination among the individual subjects within this cycle, nor are common principles in teaching them applied." The author calls upon the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture to pay proper attention to improving teaching in art schools.

L. Garber, from Nezhino, Chernigov Oblast, is concerned with the question of upgrading the level of the aesthetic upbringing of children and adolescents, musical in particular. "Mass musical education cannot be an uncontrolled or poorly controlled process. The result of this," he writes, "is the fact that many of our young people turn to 'fashionable,' easy-to-understand but frequently primitive works of the 'easy' genre quite different from the best traditions of Soviet entertainment music." The author proves that the low



esthetic standards of the individual may be one of the reasons for lack of spirituality and for immorality.

Museums play a major role in the arsenal of means of ideological and cultural influence on the masses. N. Kabanova, a young specialist in the field of geography and social science, describes to the editors her visit to the Central Museum of the USSR Armed Forces: "It is precisely here, surrounded by the outstanding relics of the military valor of our people, rather than 'exhibits' in the ordinary worn-out meaning of the word, but by almost 'living' objects and documents, which have recorded the very breath of the unforgettable terrible days and of the witnesses--no, the participants!--of the tragic and victorious events--here, more than anywhere else, one can feel particularly strongly the greatness of the past of our socialist homeland and the great meaning of one's citizenship."

Prof A. Magometov, doctor of historical sciences, from Ordzhonikidze, who visited our editorial premises, described, among others, how a museum of world classical literature was set up in the secondary school of Tolstoy-Yurt, a Chechen village. It turned out that the young Leo Tolstoy had visited the village while doing his military service in the Caucasus and had stayed with his friend Sado Miserbiyev, a local resident. As is the custom among mountaineers, they exchanged tokens of friendship: Sado presented Tolstoy with a sabre made by the village craftsman, while Lev Nikolayevich had reciprocated by presenting him with a music box. Schoolteacher Aziz Yusupov had collected data on the friendship between the writer and the local population for a long time and had written a novel on the subject.

Today there are more than 10,000 people's museums in the country (i.e., created on the basis of local initiative and managed by volunteers). Painter M. Spendiarova writes that such museums offer great opportunities which obviously could be even greater if properly handled. "There are many enthusiastic people among us, motivated exclusively by patriotic feelings. Ol'ga Sevast'yanovna and Nikolay Nikolayevich Kuznetsov are Muscovites. She is an educator and he is an engineer. Their tremendous interest in the works of Nikolay Ge took them once to the Chernigov area, to Ivangorod village, where the painter had spent the last 18 years of his life. There they visited the small regional museum in the rural school and offered to expand it. They began to collect a great variety of exhibits from archives, museums and private individuals. This laid the beginning of a project which developed into a people's museum on the life, works and social activities of an outstanding painter and philosopher and one of the founders of the Society of 19th Century Realist Painters. The local party and soviet organs gave their total support to the museum from the very beginning. The museum is located in the premises of the Ivangorod House of Culture. It contains a unique collection of reproductions of most of Ge's paintings, books and albums of his works, rare photographs, household items and furniture from the mid-19th century. All of this was procured, restored or lovingly created by the Kuznetsov family. A. Tsyganok, the schoolteacher, acts as the voluntary curator, manager, lecturer and guide of the only museum in the country exhibiting the works of N. Ge..."

"So much has been created," the author of the letter points out, "that the museum can no longer be managed on a 'voluntary basis.' ...How can it be expanded, when it has no funds; how to handle the growing number of visitors who require systematic and skilled guidance? Is it not time for the museum to be taken over by the state and be included in the program of Kiev's 'golden' tourist circle?"

The editors, who support this idea in principle, point out that N. N. Ge is a phenomenon of truly global importance, whose fame undeservedly does not match his tremendous contribution to domestic and universal culture. As one of the best Russian portrait painters, who gave us the portraits of A. I. Herzen, M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin, N. A. Nekrasov and L. N. Tolstoy, he invariably addressed himself to the crucial periods in the history of our homeland. His canvas "Peter the Great examines Tsarevich Aleksey Petrovich in Peterhoff" symbolizes the unity between old and vanishing and new and victorious Russia and the aspiration for progress. The comprehensive and objective assessment of the famous evangelical cycle of works by N. N. Ge is awaiting a comprehensive objective evaluation to this day. I. Ye. Repin rated Ge's "Last Supper" higher than the famous fresco by Leonard da Vinci in Milan. The stern truthfulness, dramatic impact and democratic spirit of the paintings in this cycle marked a real change: they eliminated the halo of sanctity of the subjects and made religion-oriented paintings impossible. That is why the tsarist authorities forbid their exhibition. N. N. Ge, a democrat and a socialist, brilliant painter and person of exceptional moral purity (incidentally, N. K. Krupskaya met with him and has left us interesting recollections) had a great and tragic life as a painter. The memory of such people and a concerned attitude for their creative legacy is our patriotic duty, our duty to the fatherland. Regardless of our entire tremendous spiritual wealth, we have no right to be wasteful.

KOMMUNIST has received a number of letters on the international situation, particularly on the situation which has recently developed in Western Europe in connection with the initiated deployment of new American missiles. The Soviet people express their full approval of the consistently peaceful Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state while also noting with satisfaction the concern shown by the party and the government for strengthening the defense capability of our country and the socialist commonwealth as a whole and express their readiness to contribute to these efforts with dedication.

The readers frequently ask for a more detailed interpretation of one international topic or another or answers to topical problems of global developments. Taking into consideration their interest of anything taking place in the international arena, in the section "Realities of the Contemporary Epoch" the editors regularly publish materials explaining the essence of major events, exposing the aggressive plans of imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all, and the false claims of bourgeois propaganda.

Some authors offer their own explanations of problems of world politics. Thus, Muscovite Ye. Yegoshkin, party and Great Patriotic War veteran, entitled his letter "What Is Hidden Behind the Deployment of First-Strike American Missiles in Western European Countries." The dangerous labyrinth into which

Washington has involved the FRG, Italy and England with its strategy of first nuclear strike at the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, he writes, is quite complex and comprehensive.... In addition to threatening the vital centers of the socialist countries, its essential purpose is to put an end to the independence of the leading Western European countries and of any weight they may pull in major international affairs, and to subordinate the FRG, England and Italy to the policies and resources of aggressive U.S. preparations, as Hitler did by capturing Europe during the first phase of World War II. Already today these countries are severely threatened by American absorption and by their conversion to nuclear bridgeheads. This is the essence of the first stage of the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe. The declaration of the CEMA members on "Safeguarding Peace and International Economic Cooperation," which was adopted in Moscow on 14 June 1984, provides the United States and Western Europe with the real opportunity of pulling out of a dangerously approaching dead end.

As in the past, the editors have received a number of petitions and complaints by citizens and questions relative to one aspect or another of the work of local party and state organs and trade and consumer services. Many complaints are voiced on the work of law enforcement organs. A number of letters complain of the callous and bureaucratic behavior of individual officials who are unwilling truly to consider the needs and concerns of the working people and to resolve without red tape some simple problems which, however, may be of vital importance to the petitioners.

In this connection we should emphasize that a considerable percentage of such letters to the editors would be unnecessary if all local officials would pay proper attention and show responsiveness to the people and efficiently resolve problems within their range of competence or else promptly provide sensible reasons for the impossibility of satisfying specific requests. Unfortunately, there is a category of people who file complaints although clearly aware of the fact that their claims are groundless and illegal but keep doing everything possible to satisfy them.

The editors consider work with the letters sent by the working people one of the most important areas of activity. The journal will continue to publish semiannual and topic surveys of letters to the editors. The editors are also planning for this year a survey of answers received by organizations and departments to information submitted by the journal and its readers.

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